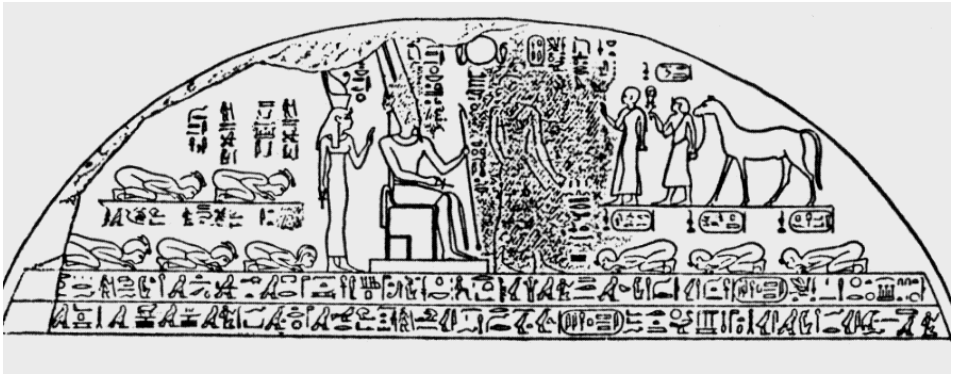
Chapter One
Piankhi - 618 B.C.

The Tefnakht Rebellion

In 1862, in the ruins of the Gebel Barkal temple near Napata, the ancient capital of the Cushite kingdom of like name, an Egyptian officer discovered an enormous black granite stela, nearly six feet in height and of equal width, 16 inches thick.[1] On the rounded upper portion of the stela we see the seated figure of the god Amun, the goddess Mut in attendance behind, and a king, back-facing, his features defaced by a spiteful successor. His name, Meriamun Piankhi, remains in bold relief. The Napatan king is addressed by a vassal king Nimlot, who bears as a gift a prancing horse. Beneath Nimlot grovel three other kings. Above the prostrate form of each the kings are named - Peftjauawybast, Iupet, Osorkon. Behind Amun and Mut yet five other vassals submit to Piankhi.

Figure 1: Facsimile of the top of the Piankhi stele[2]



The narrative which follows in 159 lines of hieroglyphic text (inscribed on the front, back and sides of the stela) tells the story of Piankhi's

[1] 150x153x30 cm.
[2] This sketch is copied from Petrie, *History of Egypt* III (1905), p. 269.

suppression of a rebellion in Lower Egypt. The dateline cites the first month of the Egyptian year, his 21st. The storyline begins with a cry for help. Three of the four named kings have been deposed, their cities overwhelmed by the advancing armies of Tefnakht, an ambitious king of Saïs, a town on the fringe of the western delta. Only Peftjauawybast still holds his city, now under siege. At the time of the insurrection Piankhi appears to exercise political control over central and southern Egypt, if not the whole of the country. It is *his* sovereignty which is being challenged.

> One came to say to his majesty: "A chief of the west, the great prince in Neter, Tefnakhte (*t3 f.nḫt.t*) is in the nome of – , in the nome of Xois, in Hapi (*Ḥ ʿp*), in – , in Ayan, in Pernub, and in Memphis. He has seized the whole west from the back-lands to Ithtowe, coming southward with a numerous army, while the Two Lands are united behind him, and the princes and rulers of walled towns are as dogs at his heels. No stronghold has closed [its door in] the nomes of the South: Mer-Atum (Medûm), Per Sekhemkheperre, the temple of Sebek, Permezed, Theknesh (*T-k3-n-š*); and every city of the west, they have opened the doors for fear of him. He turned to the east, they opened to him likewise. BAR IV 818

The message reached Piankhi in Napata, 400 miles upriver from Thebes. The Nubian king seemed unperturbed by developments, in spite of persistent appeals from those in jeopardy.

> Then [his majesty] heard [the message] with courageous heart, laughing, and joyous of heart. These princes and commanders of the army who were in their cities sent to his majesty daily, saying: "Wilt thou be silent, even to forgetting the Southland, the nomes of the [court]? While Tefnakhte advances his conquest and finds none to repel his arm." BAR IV 819

Cities previously loyal to Piankhi were now in league with Tefnakht. Nimlot, king of Hermopolis, nomarch of the Hare nome, was the last to defect.

> Behold, he (Nimlot) goes to follow at his (Tefnakhte's) heels, having cast off allegiance to his majesty (Piankhi). He tarries with him (Tefnakhte) like one of [his vassals in] the nome of Oxyrhyncus, and gives to him (Tefnakhte) gifts, as much as he desires, of everything that he has found. BAR IV 820

Biding his time, Piankhi waited for Tefnakht to overreach. At long last he

acted, sending a Theban force[3] to stem further losses at the Hare nome.

> Then his majesty sent to the princes and commanders (mr) of the army who were in Egypt: the commander (*ṯś*), Purem (*P-wꜣ-r-mꜥ*); and the commander (*ṯś*) Lemersekeny (*Rw-ꜥ-mr-s-k-n-y*); and every commander (*ṯs*) of his majesty who was in Egypt (saying): "Hasten into battle line, engage in battle, surround – , capture its people, its cattle, its ships upon the river. Let not the peasants go forth to the field, let not the plowmen plow, beset the frontier of the Hare nome, fight against it daily." Then they did so. BAR IV 821

Piankhi also dispatched an army from Napata to assist, but with specific instructions to pause at Thebes, to seek there the blessing of the god Amun. Piankhi is no stranger to temple ritual. He knows how to please and appease the god. Nothing is left to chance. Every ritual action is prescribed. Every prayer to Amun is dictated.

> When ye arrive at Thebes, before Karnak, ye shall enter into the water, ye shall bathe in the river, ye shall dress in [fine linen}; unstring the bow, loosen the arrow. Let not the chief boast as a mighty man; there is no strength to the mighty without him (Amon). He maketh the weak-armed into the strong-armed, so that multitudes flee from the feeble, and one alone taketh a thousand men. Sprinkle yourselves with the water of his altars, sniff the ground before him. Say ye to him, 'Give to us the way, that we may fight in the shadow of thy sword. (As for) the generation whom thou hast sent out, when its attack occurs, multitudes flee before it.' BAR IV 823

The army sailed down-stream. "They arrived at Thebes, they did according to all that his majesty had said."[4] Then, sanctified for battle, the Nubian contingent proceeded to relieve the siege of Heracleopolis, the city of Peftjauawybast.

> They sailed down-stream upon the river; they found many ships coming up-stream bearing soldiers, sailors, and commanders; every valiant man of the Northland, equipped with weapons of war, to fight against the army of his majesty. Then there was made a great slaughter among them, (whose) number was unknown. Their troops and their ships were captured, and brought as living captives to the place where his majesty was. They went to the [frontier] of

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[3]The narrative does not specify where the Egyptian armies were based. We can reasonably assume that at least some troops were garrisoned in Thebes, or that conscript forces were requisitioned from cities loyal to Piankhi in the vicinity of Thebes. But the fact that two commanders are specifically named in the inscription suggests that two separate armies served Piankhi within Egypt. We suggest El Hibeh, in central Egypt, as a likely location for the other garrison. There were, of course, officers (commanders) of lesser rank.

[4]BAR IV 825

Heracleopolis, demanding battle. BAR IV 825

There follows on the stela a list of the major opponents of Pianhkhi, those recently defeated by Tefnakht and compelled to join his cause.

List of the princes and kings of the Northland, namely:
1. King Namlot and
2. King Yewepet (*Yw-wꜣ-p-t*).
3. Chief of Me, Sheshonk, of Per-Osiris (Busiris), lord of Ded.
4. Great chief of Me, Zeamonefonekh, of Per-Benebded (Mendes), together with
5. His eldest son, who was commander of the army of Per-Thutuprehui (*Pr-Ḏḥwty-Wp-rḥwy*).
6. The army of the hereditary prince, Beknenef (*Bk-n-nfy*), together with
7. His eldest son, chief of Me, Nesnekedi (*Ns-nꜣ-ꜥꜣy*, sic!) In the nome of Hesebka (*Ḥsb-kꜣ*).
8. Every chief wearing a feather who was in the Northland; together with
9. King Osorkon, who was in Per-Bast (Bubastis) and the district of Ranofer (*Rꜥ-nfr*).
10. Every prince, the rulers of the walled towns in the West, in the East, (and) the islands in the midst, were united of one mind as followers of the great chief of the West, ruler of the walled towns of the Northland, prophet of Neit, mistress of Sais, sem priest of Ptah, Tefnakhte. BAR IV 830

It was an imposing army. This would be no insignificant battle.

They went forth against them; then they made a great slaughter among them, greater than anything. Their ships were captured upon the river. The remnant crossed over and landed on the west side before Per-Peg. When the land brightened early in the morning, the army of his majesty crossed over against them. Army mingled with army; they slew a multitude of people among them; forces of unknown number; a rout ensued among the remnant. They fled to the North-land, from the blow, great and evil beyond everything. BAR IV 831-832

Tefnakht was overwhelmed and with his auxiliaries he turned and fled northward. He sought sanctuary in Memphis. Piankhi's army disengaged the battle!

When Piankhi, who remained in Napata, was informed of the course of the conflict he was "enraged like a panther", disconcerted that his army had failed to pursue its advantage. He resolved to take personal command of the army.

Have they allowed the remnant of the army of the Northland to remain? allowing

> him that went forth of them to go forth, to tell of his campaign? not causing their death, in order to destroy the last of them? I swear: as Re loves me! As my father Amon favors me! I will myself go northward, that I may destroy that which he has done, that I may make him turn back from fighting, forever. BAR IV 835

But Piankhi's departure was delayed. As with the army sent earlier, so for himself, political action must await the approval of the god. First he must petition Amon of Napata at his New Year's festival and then Amon of Thebes at the feast of Opet following. Only then would the battle resume.

> Now, afterward when the ceremonies of the New Year are celebrated, I will offer to my father, Amon (of Napata) , at his beautiful feast, when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year, that he may send me forth in peace, to behold Amon (of Thebes) at the beautiful Feast of Opet; that I may bring his image forth in procession to Luxor at his beautiful feast (called): "Night of the Feast of Opet," and at the feast (called) "Abiding in Thebes," which Re made for him in the beginning; and that I may (ultimately) bring him in procession to his house, resting upon his throne on the "Day of Bringing in the God," in the third month of the first season, second day; that I may make the Northland taste the taste of my fingers. BAR IV 836

If we correctly read the inscription, several months passed before Piankhi enjoined the battle. On the ninth day of the month Thoth the New Year's celebrations in Napata ended, and "his majesty went northward to Thebes. There he celebrated the Feast of Opet", and the feast of "Abiding in Thebes".[5] Finally - on to the battle front.

It may seem unusual, all these pauses for religious festival in the midst of a battle.[6] But Piankhi was an unusual man. Later we will have cause to reflect on the deeply religious side of his character. Though a king, he behaves strangely like a priest.

While Piankhi tarried in Thebes the army, having felt the sting of Piankhi's criticism, had renewed hostilities. The delay had allowed

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[5] BAR IV 840

[6] The early months of the New Year in Egypt were the time of the annual flooding of the Nile, the so-called inundation, which severely limited mobility within the country. This was not the time for a major battle between land based armies. Piankhi's delay resulted only in part from religious sentiment. Climate was as much the cause. This assumes, of course, that the Egyptian New Year at the time of Piankhi began early in July.

Nimlot time to reoccupy Hermopolis. A siege of that city was begun by the army, soon to be joined by Piankhi. A portion of the army also moved to capture Oxyrhyncus, Tetehen and Hatbenu, walled towns which stood between Hermopolis and Memphis.

Piankhi, on leaving Thebes, "sailed northward to the city of the Hare nome (Hermopolis)" and joined the assault.[7]

The siege of Hermopolis lasted for several months. The detailed story occupies over one quarter of the stela inscription (lines 31 -70). Though the attack began before Piankhi's arrival, his appearance witnessed an escalation in its intensity.

> He (Piankhi) set up for himself the camp on the southwest of Hermopolis (*Ḫmnw*), and besieged it daily. An embankment was made, to inclose the wall; a tower was raised to elevate the archers while shooting, and the slingers while slinging stones, and slaying people among them daily. Days passed, and Hermopolis (*Wnw*) was foul to the nose, without her (usual) fragrance. Then Hermopolis (*Wnw*) threw herself upon her belly, and plead before the king.
> BAR IV 842-843

Terms of the surrender were negotiated. Nimlot forfeited his wealth but retained his kingship.

> Then he (Nimlot) presented much silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, bronze, and all costly stones. Then he filled the treasury (of Piankhi) with this tribute; he brought a horse in the right hand and a sistrum in the left hand, of gold and lapis lazuli. BAR IV 847

It is this image of a prancing horse, led by the vassal Nimlot, which adorns the great stela, serving to highlight a recurring theme in the narrative - Piankhi's love of horses. His visit to the stables of Hermopolis has become legendary. In a conversation with Nimlot, as the defeated king escorted him through the palace grounds, Piankhi expressed his disdain, not at the loss of human life and property, but at the suffering endured by Nimlot's horses. And he chose the occasion to affirm once again the divine favor afforded him by the god Amon-Re. All the suffering was for naught. Nimlot ought to have known that he could not win the contest. The god Amun was with Piankhi.

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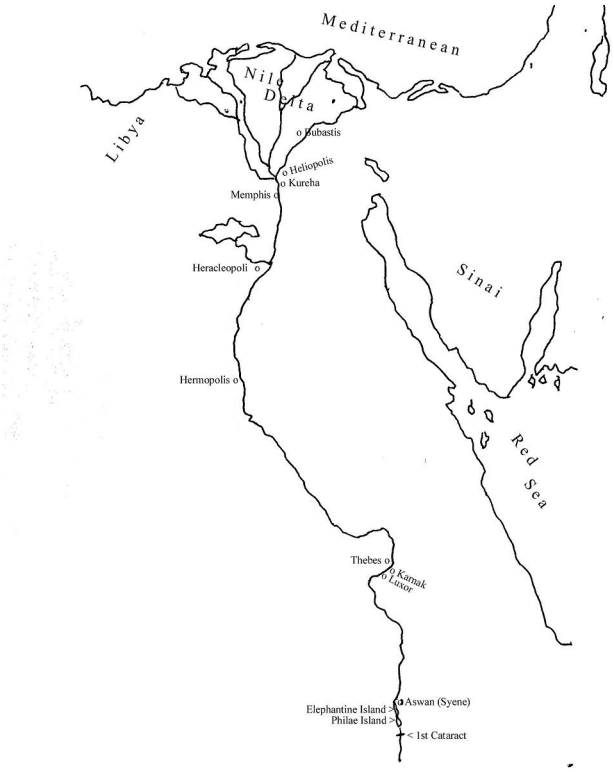
[7]BAR IV 840

Figure 2: Egypt in days of Piankhi



His majesty proceeded to the house of King Namlot, he entered every chamber of the king's-house, his treasure and his magazines. He caused that there be brought to him the king's-wives and king's-daughters; they saluted his majesty in the fashion of women, (but) his majesty turned not his face to them. His majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw that they had suffered hunger, he said: "I swear, as Re loves me, and as my nostrils are rejuvenated with life, it is more grievous in my heart that my horses have suffered hunger, than any evil deed that thou hast done, in the prosecution of thy desire. It has borne witness of thee to me, the fear of thy associates for thee. Didst thou not know that the god's shadow is over me? And that my fortune never perishes because of him? Would that another had done it to me! I could not but [condemn] him on account of it. When I was being fashioned in the womb, and created in the divine egg, the seed of the god was in me. By his ka, I

> do nothing without him; he it is who commands me to do it." BAR IV 850

The stage was all but set for the conquest of the delta. Peftjauawybast of Heracleopolis arrived at Hermopolis, bearing gifts in gratitude for the salvation of his city - gold, silver, every costly stone, and, of course, "horses of the choicest of the stable."[8] Three walled towns yet stood in Piankhi's way, Per-Sekhemkheperre, Medûm, Ithtowe. All three capitulated at the mere threat of siege. At long last Piankhi arrived at Memphis.

On the outskirts of Memphis he considered his options. Tefnakht had been provided ample time to strengthen the defenses of the city. He had used the opportunity to fortify its walls and the flooding Nile (for it was the season of inundation) had turned Memphis into an island fortress.

> When the day broke, at early morning, his majesty reached Memphis. When he had landed on the north of it, he found that the water had approached to the walls, the ships mooring at [the walls of] Memphis. Then his majesty saw that it was strong, and that the wall was raised by a new rampart, and battlements manned with might men. There was found no way of attacking it. BAR IV 861

Advice from his generals and advisors was not in short supply.

> Every man told his opinion among the army of his majesty, according to every rule of war. Every man said: "Let us besiege [it] -; lo, its troops are numerous." Others said: "Let a causeway be made against it; let us elevate the ground to its walls. Let us bind together a tower; let us erect masts and make spars into a bridge to it. We will divide it on this (plan) on every side of it, on the high ground and - on the north of it, in order to elevate the ground at its walls, that we may find a way for our feet." BAR IV 861

The advice, well intentioned, was quickly rejected. Piankhi observed how ships, moored on the river on the eastern edge of the city, rode sufficiently high in the water that their prows projected over the city walls. There, in plain sight, was the means of access to the city. The flooding Nile provided an entrance into the city.

> Then he sent forth his fleet and his army to assault the harbor of Memphis; they brought to him every ferry-boat, every [cargo]-boat, every [transport], and the

[8]BAR IV 852

> ships, as many as there were, which had moored in the harbor of Memphis, with the bow-rope fastened among its houses. [There was not] a citizen (*nḏs*) who wept, among all the soldiers of his majesty. His majesty himself came to line up the ships, as many as there were. His majesty commanded his army (saying): "Forward against it! Mount the walls! Penetrate the houses over the river. BAR II 863

The requisitioned vessels, linked in some fashion, served as a bridge to the city walls. The army crossed over. "Then Memphis was taken as (by) a flood of water, a multitude of people were slain therein, and brought as living captives to the place where his majesty was."[9]

Once again religious ritual intrudes into the narrative. Temples are carefully preserved. Offerings are presented to the gods of Memphis. The city is anointed with natron and incense. Priests are summoned to service. Piankhi proceeded to the temple of Ptah, fulfilling every ritual custom, and a religious celebration followed, replete with offerings of "bulls, calves, fowl, and everything good."

There was no need to extend the conquest to the balance of the Delta. With the exception of those remote areas controlled by Tefnakht, the chieftains, to a man, yielded the day to Piankhi. They immediately "opened the(ir) strongholds and fled away; none knew the place whither they had gone." In time they appeared before the Nubian king and acknowledged his sovereignty.

> King Yewepet came, and the chief of Me, Akenesh (*ỉ-kỉ-n-šw*), and the hereditary prince, Pediese, together with all the princes of the Northland, bearing their tribute, to behold the beauty of his majesty. BAR IV 868

There followed a pilgrimage to the chief religious centers of the Delta, to worship Atum of Khereha and Re of Heliopolis. At the latter site "King Osorkon came to see the beauty of his majesty." Then by ship Piankhi traveled "to the harbor of the nome of Athribis (*Kỉ-km*)", the city of Pediese, where he set up camp and received another delegation of submissive princes.

> Then came those kings and princes of the Northland, all the chiefs who wore the

[9] BAR IV 865

> feather, every vizier, all chiefs, and every king's confidant, from the west, from the east , and from the islands in the midst, to see the beauty of his majesty. Then the hereditary prince, Pediese, threw himself upon his belly before his majesty, and said: "Come to Athribis (*K3-km*), that thou mayest see Khentifkhet (*Ḫnt-ḥty*), that thou mayest worship Khuyet (*Ḫwy.t*), that thou mayest offer an oblation to Horus in his house, consisting of : bulls, calves, and fowl; and that thou mayest enter my house. My treasury is open to thee, to [–] thyself with my paternal possessions. I will give to thee gold, as much as thou desirest; malachite shall be heaped up before thee; many horses of the best of the stable, and the first of the stall." BAR IV 873-4

The gold and silver were destined for the treasuries of the gods adored by Piankhi. The horses were for the king himself.

> "Go to the stable that thou mayest choose as thou desirest, of all the horses that thou willst." Then his majesty did so. BAR IV 876

The invitation was echoed by the assembled dignitaries:

> Said these kings and princes to his majesty: "Dismiss us to our cities, that we may open our treasuries, that we may choose as much as thy heart desires, that we may bring to thee the best of our stables, the first of our horses." Then his majesty did so. BAR IV 877

The delta now belonged to Piankhi. All save the western fringe.

The narrative at this point pauses to list the delta dynasts, in their final act of submission to Piankhi, as they acknowledge his suzerainty and surrender their treasure. The total includes two kings, five princes, and seven Libyan chieftains.

> Said these kings and princes to his majesty: "Dismiss us to our cities, that we may open our treasuries, that we may choose as much as thy heart desires, that we may bring to thee the best of our stables, the first of our horses." Then his majesty did so.
> List of names belonging thereto:
>
> 1. King Osorkon in Bubastis, the district of Ranofer
> 2. King Yewepet in Tantremu and Tayan
> 3. The prince Djedamonefankh in "the granary of Re" of Per- Benebded (Mendes).
> 4. His eldest son, commander of the army, in Per-Thutuprehui, Enekhhor.
> 5. The prince, Akenesh, in Sebennytos, in Per-heby, and in Samhudet
> 6. The prince, chief of Me, Pethenef, in Per-Soped and in "the granary of

Memphis."
7. The prince, chief of Me, Pemou, in Per-Osiris (Busiris), lord of Ded.
8. The prince, chief of Me, Nesnekedy in the nome of Hesebka.
9. The prince, chief of Me, Nekhtharneshenu in Per-Gerer.
10. The chief of Me, Pentewere.
11. The chief of Me, Pentibekhenet.
12. The prophet of Horus, lord of Letopolis, Pediharsomtous.
13. The prince, Hurabes in the house of Sekhmet, mistress of Sais, and the house of Sekhmet, mistress of Rehesu.
14. The prince Zedkhiyu in Khentnofer.
15. The prince Pebes in Khereha in Per-Hapi. BAR IV 877-878

To this list we must add Pediese, the hereditary chief of Athribis, and the three key dignitaries named earlier in the narrative - kings Nimlot of Hermopolis, Peftjauawybast of Heracleopolis, and the chief of Me, Sheshonk of Busiris, the army commander subordinate to Pemou, prince of that city. They are not unimportant characters in the drama.

The fate of the one missing dynast, Tefnakht, is recounted in the closing lines of the inscription. Fearful of appearing in person before Piankhi, the Saïte chieftain, from his seclusion in the delta marshes, sent an emissary with flattering words and "gold and every costly stone, and the best of the horses, (even) [payment] for everything." While he would not appear before Piankhi, he requested and received a delegation of priests, representatives of Piankhi, before whom he swore allegiance to the Napatan king.

> I will not transgress the command of the king, I will not overstep that which the king saith. I will not do a hostile act against a prince (*ḥ3ty-ʿ*) without thy knowledge; I will do according to that which the king says, and I will not transgress that which he has commanded." Then his majesty was satisfied therewith. BAR IV 881

With a brief mention of the submission of a few peripheral strongholds of central Egypt the narrative concludes. All Egypt now belongs to Piankhi - again. "There is not a nome closed against his majesty of the nomes of the South and North; the west, the east, and the islands in the midst are upon their bellies in fear of him, causing that their possessions be presented at the place where his majesty is, like subjects of the palace."[10]

[10] BAR IV 882

With treasure in hand, Piankhi journeyed south.

> Then the ships were laden with silver, gold, copper, clothing, and everything of the Northland, every product of Syria (*Ḫ3-rw*), and all sweet woods of God's-Land. His majesty sailed up-stream, with glad heart, the shores on his either side were jubilating. West and east, they seized the [–], jubilating in the presence of his majesty; singing and jubilating as they said: "O mighty, mighty Ruler, Piankhi, O mighty Ruler; thou comest, having gained the dominion of the Northland. Thou makest bulls into women. Happy the heart of the mother who bore thee, and the man who begat thee. Those who are in the valley give to her praise, the cow that hath borne a bull. Thou art unto eternity, thy might endureth, O Ruler, beloved of Thebes. BAR IV 883 (emphasis added)

It is regrettable that the name of Piankhi's mother and father are omitted. Had their names been included Egyptian history might have been written differently.

Piankhi: The Traditional View

In view of the notoriety of Piankhi, as evidenced by the events narrated on the stela, we should expect that he was an important figure in Egyptian history. If so, we would be disappointed. As we shall see, his life and times are shrouded in mystery.

When the Piankhi stela was first read by scholars it was immediately recognized that the dignitaries named therein belonged to the late 22nd and 23rd dynasties, and that the rebel Tefnakht must be the father of Bocchoris, the sole occupant of Manetho's 24th dynasty. With confidence early Egyptologists dated the insurrection of Tefnakht and the response by Piankhi to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. Flinders Petrie, the eminent and influential British Egyptologist, writing at the turn of the 20th century, dated the "invasion" to the year 720 B.C., with the reigns of the 25th dynasty kings Shabaka and Shabataka following closely on its heels. The whole of the 25th dynasty, including most of the reign of Taharka, is of necessity placed between the time of the Tefnakht rebellion and the conquest and occupation of Egypt by the Assyrians, the later event securely dated to the years 671-664 B.C.

A century of scholarship has refined Petrie's dates only slightly. K.A. Kitchen, the foremost living authority on the 3rd Intermediate Period,

dates the Piankhi incident to 727 B.C. and the most recent analysis by the Egyptologist D.A. Aston[11] has placed Piankhi's 21st year only a decade earlier, in the time span 740-735 B.C. If Aston is correct, the median year 738 B.C. cannot be far wrong.

The slight difference of opinion on the date of the Piankhi invasion is related to a secondary question of fundamental concern to this revision. How long did Piankhi continue to rule after the rebellion was suppressed late in his 20th year?[12] On this issue as well, there is some divergence of opinion. The question takes on added significance if it be admitted that he ruled over Egypt for much of this time.

Who is Piankhi, this Nubian king who had, some years before the Tefnakht rebellion, conquered the southern and central portions of Egypt , if not the entire country, and who now scoffed at any challenge to his authority? If we correctly interpret the stela inscription he was a sovereign of long standing in Egypt, not a recent intruder. The stela is dated, as mentioned earlier, to the first month of his 21st year. Based on normal standards of interpretation we should glean from this fact that he had been king of Egypt, or a king within Egypt, for twenty years. That is, however, not the typical interpretation of his great stela. With few exceptions scholars believe that Piankhi had ruled central and southern Egypt for at most a few years before the rebellion, and that his control of the country was lost soon after. When they discuss his dates they are debating only his tenure as king in Nubia, not the length of his sovereignty over Egypt.

The explanation for this opinion is related to considerations apart from the stela inscription itself. There is no evidence within Egypt that Piankhi ruled the country for a single year, much less for twenty years, prior to his 21st year. No monument within Egypt bears his name. No building was constructed by him. No artifacts belonging to him have been recovered; no mention of his name occurs in secondary sources. In view of his renown, as evidenced in the narrative of the great stela, this is

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[11]D.A. Aston, "Takeloth II - A King of the 'Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty'?" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989) 139-153.

[12]The Great Stele dateline cites the first month of the first season of the civil calendar in Piankhi's 21st year. The rebellion is over. We assume it ended several months earlier, time for Piankhi to return to Napate and have the monument inscribed (see figure 4 on page 27).

a particularly troublesome silence. If he lived in Thebes, wherein he based an army, he has left no evidence of the fact. If he became king in Thebes two decades before the Tefnakht rebellion the lack of inscriptional evidence is difficult, if not impossible to explain. The conclusion follows that his involvement in Egyptian affairs was brief. He came; he conquered; and for reasons unknown, he quickly departed the country. Or so we are told.

When Piankhi withdrew from the delta, laden with treasure, he was the uncontested sovereign of all of Egypt. Where did he go and for how long did he continue to rule? According to scholars, if he moved south to Thebes he did not long remain there. His home was Napata and there he lived out his years. But for how long? On this issue academia is divided. The majority believe that he continued to rule for either ten or twenty additional years, a conclusion based on the most fragile of evidence. Were it not for an obscured year date on a bandage, it might be argued that his name vanishes from Egypt entirely within a few years of the rebellion. Kitchen, who believes his reign in total lasted only 30 years, provides a summary of the evidence:

> The one generally accepted year-date of Piankhy is Year 21 on his great stela. However, a minimum of 31 years is assignable to him on the external evidence which is outlined above (sect. 114). To these factors, a little more can be added. First, there are three documents dated by the reign of 'Pharaoh Py, Si-Ese Meryamun' - two papyri of his Years 21 and 22, most probably Theban, and the lesser Dakhla stela of Year 24. There is good reason to view Py as the real reading of Piankhy and to attribute all three documents to Piankhy's reign. Second, a fragmentary bandage from Western Thebes bears an obscure date of Sneferre Piankhy. The visible traces indicate 'Regnal Year 20', a patch and trace (the latter compatible with a '10'), and a shallow sign perhaps an otiose t. In other words, we here have a date higher than Year 20 of Piankhy, and very possibly Year 30 - which would fit very well with the 31 years' minimum reign which has been already inferred on independent grounds. TIP 123

Based on these and other more subjective considerations Kitchen dates Piankhi's reign to the years 747-716 B.C. with Shabaka (716-702 B.C.), Shabataka (702-690 B.C.) and Taharka (690-664 B.C.) following in quick succession.

Others, including Klaus Baer in his influential analysis of the chronology

of dynasties 22-26[13], have read year 40 on the bandage fragment and argue that Piankhi ruled for that length of time. Accordingly, Baer dates Piankhi to the years 753-713 B.C., and shortens the reigns of Shabaka (713-698 B.C.) and Shabataka (698-690 B.C.) to compensate for the years added to the reign of Piankhi.

The dates for Taharka (690-664 B.C.) are inflexible in the traditional history, and must be maintained in any dating scheme.

It is largely immaterial, at least for the time being, whether we argue for a thirty year or a forty year reign for Piankhi. It is not the length of his reign that concerns us here. It is the country over which he ruled that is most problematic. We take exception with those who consider Piankhi to be a Nubian king who conquered Egypt late in his reign and lived there only briefly. There is no evidence, other than the silence of the monuments, to support that assumption. And the Egyptian silence can be otherwise explained.

The stela narrative leaves the distinct impression that Piankhi had ruled Egypt for a considerable time before the Tefnakht rebellion. The dateline and the content of the inscription are entirely consistent with, and even argue for, the supposition that his kingship began in Egypt over twenty years before the rebellion ended. It could be argued, a priori, that he began as a nomarch, with limited power, like those he encountered on his tour of conquest, and that the scope of his authority expanded over time. Some evidence exists connecting him with the 23rd dynasty king Rudamon. Peftjauawybast of Heracleopolis, to whose rescue Piankhi came in his 20th year, was married to a daughter of this same Rudamon. Perhaps Piankhi, like Peftjauawybast, originally ruled some principality in central Egypt before assuming power in Thebes. We can even suggest a likely location. But that story must come later.

Piankhi's connections with Napata may be similar to those of Rudamon.

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[13]Kraus Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI," JNES 32 (1973). According to Baer "The mummy bandage Brit. Mus. 6640 ... indicates that Piye reached his year 40. It reads *ḥ3t-sp* x + 20.t; and, from the grouping, x can only be an even number of tens, probably 20 since the preserved two tens occupy about half the available space. This would place Piye's accession in 753 and the campaign of year 20 in 734 B.C. at the latest. (p.7)

A suggestion was made in *Nebuchadnezzar* that Rudamon descended from a Melukkhan king named Shabataka, whose mention in a Sargonid inscription at Tang-i Var has recently been conjectured in an article in the journal *Orientalia*.[14] We have suggested that this Shabataka, if he actually existed, may have married a daughter of the 23rd dynasty king Osorkon III. From this union came the king Rudamon/Urdamanie, who challenged the domination of Assyria over Egypt immediately following the death of Takeloth III (Tarqu) in 665 B.C. We have further suggested that the 25th dynasty kings Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka may have descended directly from Rudamon. If so then they are not descendants of Piankhi as described in the traditional history. Piankhi's origins must be found in another branch of the extended family.

Later in this book we will argue that Piankhi, like Rudamon, descended from a marital alliance that linked a Nubian prince (in this case his grandfather) with a daughter of the 23rd dynasty king Osorkon III. If so then it follows that Piankhi had a legitimate claim to both the Napatan and Egyptian thrones. More will be said about Piankhi's genealogy in a later chapter of this book (see above pp. 236-7). Sufficient here to note that the textbooks are seriously in error concerning the origins of the 25th dynasty. As it turns out, Piankhi is not, technically, a 25th dynasty king. He was not a direct ancestor of Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka. But that story must evolve as we proceed.

There is also no reason to doubt that Piankhi's rule over Egypt continued long after the end of the Tafnakht rebellion, whether for another ten or twenty years, or even longer. The evidence cited by Kitchen attesting his 22nd through 30th (or 40th) years is all of Egyptian origin, suggesting, if it doesn't prove, that Piankhi continued to rule the country long after the rebellion. The fact that he established a residence and built extensively in Napata, where he was ultimately buried, is entirely beside the point. His connections with Egypt are of long standing.

But if Piankhi lived in Egypt for thirty or forty years, and in Thebes for much of this time, where is the evidence attesting the fact? Why the silence of the monuments? As we can readily observe from the Piankhi stela, the Egyptian/Nubian king was not reluctant to publicize his

[14]See the discussion in Appendix A of *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*.

accomplishments. Was there nothing of consequence about which to boast during the balance of his extended reign? The names of his Egyptian successors Shabaka and Taharka (and to a lesser extent Shabataka) are encountered frequently in the vicinity of Thebes. They built modestly, but extensively, on both sides of the Nile. Their names are everywhere present in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Yet their combined reign lengths are not significantly larger than the number of years credited to Piankhi. Why is the name of Piankhi absent in the temple of the god he worshiped so passionately? There must be an explanation.

And we wonder about another prominent feature of the stela narrative - the extreme political fragmentation encountered by Piankhi as he traversed the country. The central and northern portions of Egypt are ruled by at minimum six kings, an equal number of princes, and at least that many Libyan chieftains, albeit as vassals of Piankhi. What was the cause of this decentralized rule. Scholars are at a loss to explain how Egypt, ruled only a half century earlier by a powerful pharaoh, Osorkon II, could in the space of a few decades become parceled out among twenty or more nomarchs with variant titles. Such a condition is documented at only one other time in Egyptian history. In 671 B.C., when the Assyrian king Esarhaddon conquered Egypt, he parceled out the administration of the country to twenty local governors, some of whom are called "kings", some princes or mayors. But that event took place at the end of the reign of Taharka, thus a half century later than the invasion of Piankhi. Or did it? Is it possible that the reign of Piankhi is incorrectly positioned in the 8th century, preceding the Assyrian conquest, rather than following it. Is not the fragmentation of Egypt described in the Piankhi stela the enduring legacy of Esarhaddon's system of governors? If so, then Piankhi must be dated to the late 7th century.

Piankhi : Alternative Dating

The reader familiar with the first book in this series, *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile,* will be aware of the fact that the chronology of Egyptian dynasties 22-26 is seriously in error, and an alternative chronology was proposed in which traditional dates for these dynasties

were lowered by a systematic 121 years. As a result of this lowering of dates the terminal years of the 22nd and 23rd dynasties, the time of Bocchoris, and the 25th dynasty pharaohs, including Piankhi and his successors Shabaka, Shabataka and Taharka, were moved from the decades immediately *preceding* the Assyrian conquest of Egypt to the decades immediately *following*. In particular the 21st year of Piankhi was tentatively revised downward to 617 B.C. The date was arrived at by subtracting 121 years from Aston's median date 738 B.C., mentioned earlier. This revised date for Piankhi was proposed and left to be defended. The defense will be taken up here and will occupy the balance of this book.

First we need to refine, ever so slightly, the 617 B.C. date. In the next chapter we will argue that Piankhi's years began and ended around the first week in March. His 21st year actually spanned the time from March 618 B.C. to March 617 B.C. It overlaps to a greater degree the year 618 B.C. As it turns out the Great Stele was erected in the year 618 B.C. (see figure 4 on page 27). Henceforth we will use the number 618 for the date of Piankhi's 21st year.

If Pianki's 21st year was 618 B.C. then his first regal year was 638 B.C. and his Egyptian sojourn spanned the years 638-598 B.C., these numbers based on the assumption that he reigned for 40 years. It is important that the reader understand that these dates are not chosen arbitrarily. They are a necessary consequence of the entire argument of the book length revision in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*. It is also important to note that, since there exists no proof that Piankhi's Egyptian reign was limited to 40 years, we must hold in reserve any comment on when his kingship ended. He may well have reigned beyond the year 598 B.C. How much longer remains to be seen.

The dates 638-598 B.C. cannot help but engage the interest of all students of Ancient Near Eastern history. Early in this time frame the Assyrian Empire began its decline and within two decades of the death of Ashurbanipal in 628 B.C. the Empire was lost. According to the argument in *Nebuchadnezzar,* Assyria, which conquered Egypt in 671 B.C., continued to control the country through much of Ashurbanipal's reign. This tenuous suzerainty turned into an alliance of equals following

his death. If we are correct in our revised dates for Piankhi, then the Nubian king must have played a part in this reversal of fortunes.

In 625 B.C., early in the reign of Sinsharishkun, the successor of Ashurbanipal, thus over a decade into the reign of Piankhi, the province of Babylon rebelled and claimed independence from Assyria. The rebel king Nabopolassar continued to harass his former suzerain until, in 612 B.C., Nineveh was destroyed with the assistance of Cyaxares of Media. Three years later Assyria exited history, as its last king Ashuruballit lost control of Harran on the western fringe of the empire.

Piankhi' reign must have overlapped these eventful years. In fact, he must have been a major participant in the power struggle. And if so, we expect that he publicized the fact.

There is no shortage of reliable information on the years in question. We possess the actual cuneiform tablets which preserve in summary form the annals of the neo-Chaldaean (Babylonian) kings Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadrezzar II. These same documents describe the terminal years of the Assyrian empire. The Hebrew scriptures also retain historical memories of the activities of Nebuchadrezzar (whom they sometimes call Nebuchadnezzar) vis-à-vis Assyria, Judea, and Egypt. Both these sources mention various actions of the Egyptian army. They fail, with one exception, to name the ruling Egyptian king. But if we are correct, the name of the king is not in question. Piankhi ruled Egypt throughout these tumultuous years. The Egyptian army mentioned in the Babylonian and Jewish records must belong to him. The fact remains to be proved. The only question is how the proof should proceed.

How do we establish that Piankhi lived and ruled in the late 7th century rather than the mid 8th century B.C.? Ideally we should like to examine the source documents of Piankhi during these critical years, and then compare the history of the times therein revealed with the contemporary history documented in the Babylonian Chronicle and in the Hebrew Bible. That should enable us to establish beyond question that we have correctly positioned this 25th dynasty patriarch. But we are confronted at the outset with a major problem, already alluded to. It is claimed by historians that Piankhi has left no documentation, other than his Great

Stela, whereby we can reconstruct his activities during his Egyptian reign. And his Great Stela deals exclusively with local matters. It is regrettable that no monument exists recording the extensive intercourse between Piankhi and Assyria, Babylon, and Judea during these years. Regrettable, that is, if true. But is it a fact that Piankhi failed to boast of his political and military involvement beyond the borders of Egypt?

If our earlier analysis of Egyptian history teaches us anything, it is the fact that Egyptologists are fallible. They occasionally make fundamental mistakes, including the attribution of documents to the wrong person. Is it possible that Piankhi's Egyptian monuments, and therefore his accomplishments, have been mistakenly credited to some other king? If so then the problem of the silence of the monuments during his reign of forty plus years would be solved. And by crediting these monuments to their rightful owner we would have access to documentary proof that our revision of Egyptian history is correct.

But now we face an historical dilemma. If inscriptions exist supposedly belonging to Piankhi but not bearing his name, then how do we establish that they are his? There is only one appropriate methodology. We must first find monuments describing activities of an Egyptian army which parallel the actions registered in the Babylonian and Jewish sources, thus dating them to the late 7th century. And then we must demonstrate that Piankhi is the probable author. There is no other way. Rather than compare Piankhi's Egyptian monuments with the known history of the late 7th century, we must use the latter history to help us find his monuments.

As it turns out there is no difficulty in finding the Piankhi inscriptions. They are everywhere present in Thebes. Far from the ominous silence we are told to expect, Piankhi was the most prolific of authors. He publicized his exploits prominently throughout central and southern Egypt and, predictably, all along the course of the Nile southward to Napata. Tales of his accomplishments regale the walls of the tombs of his many functionaries. Unfortunately, they refer to him by another of his names.

We assume as an hypothetical in the initial stages of our argument the

essential accuracy of our proposed dates for Piankhi. He erected the Great Stela in the first month of the Egyptian civil year, his 21st, thus in July of 618 B.C. His conquest of the delta took place in the preceding year, 619 B.C. We may not be able to detail precisely the course of his life during his first twenty years in office. But for the decades which follow the suppression of the Tefnakht rebellion we are blessed with abundant documentation.

Chapter Two
The Piankhi Inscriptions: 616-610 B.C.

The Babylonian Chronicle

It is good fortune, some would call it providence, that the Babylonian Chronicle opens with the 10th year of Nabopolassar, 616 B.C. in the conventional chronology. If we are correct, it is the 23rd year of Piankhi, only slightly over two years after he erected his victory stela celebrating the successful suppression of the Tefnakht rebellion.

As the Chronicle opens, Nabopolassar is challenging Assyria for control of the upper Euphrates, the continuation of a power struggle which began almost a decade earlier. In the year 616 B.C., according to the Chronicle, battles were waged, cities were conquered, and captives were taken by the Babylonian army. At long last Nabopolassar was poised to conquer the strategic western fringe of the Assyrian empire. That is, until

> In the month of Tisri [September/October] the Egyptian army and the Assyrian army marched after the king of Akkad (Nabopolassar) as far as the town Qablinu, but did not overtake the king of Akkad and then went back[15]

It was a revelation to Egyptologists and Assyriologists alike when the Chronicle was read for the first time in the middle of the 20th century. An Egyptian army ranging the headwaters of the Upper Euphrates, seven to eight hundred miles from home and in league with the Assyrians, was not to be expected in the late 7th century B.C., when Egypt was supposedly ruled by an aged Saïte dynasty king named Psamtik (I) (664-610 B.C.), by now probably in his 80's. For the traditional historian there was no alternative but to accept the fact. Saïte dynasty dates were well established. And so the history books dutifully record the adventures of Psamtik, based entirely on an assumed correspondence in dates. But as we have already explained at length in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile,* there is not the slightest hint in the monuments that Psamtik was militarily active beyond the borders of Egypt. And we have argued that

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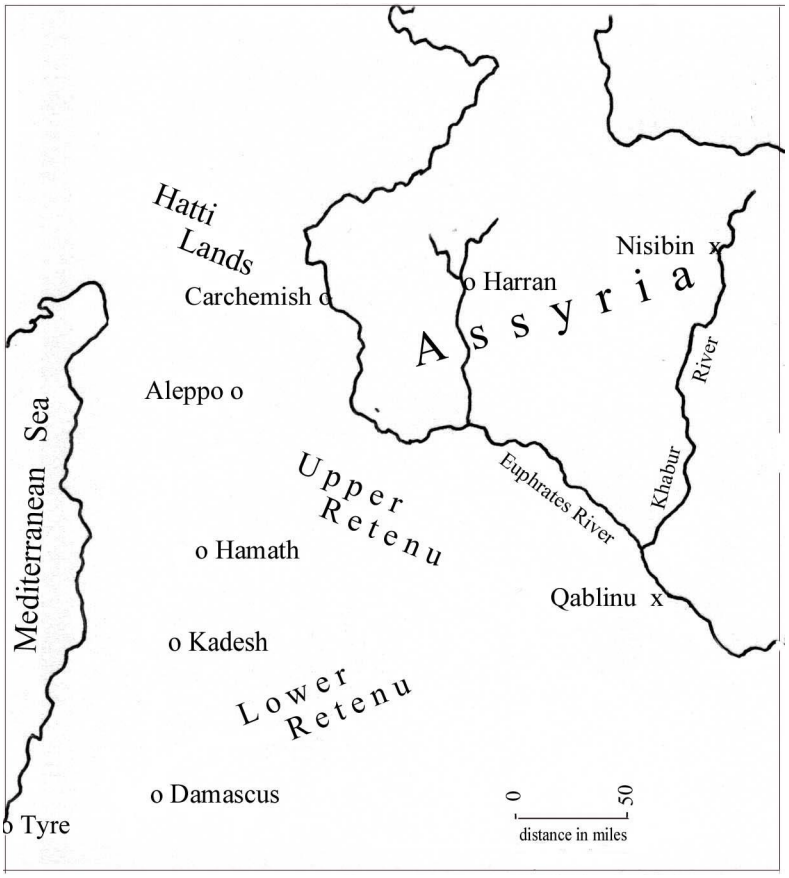
[15]D.J. Wiseman, Chronicle of Chaldaean Kings, p. 55 (B.M. 21901 line 10)

this Saite dynasty patriarch reigned as a puppet king of the Persian Empire in the early days of the first Persian domination of Egypt, in the second half of the 6th century B.C. and the first decade of the 5th century. We have no intention of summarizing the book length argument here.

Figure 3 Eastern Euphrates Region in 616 B.C.



But if not Psamtik then who was the pharaoh whose army acted in concert with Assyria in the next to last decade of the 7th century? If Piankhi, as we claim, then the fact must be supported by means others than a chronological synchronism, the sole argument in the case of Psamtik, though for Piankhi we can at least argue the possibility of such an adventure. For him such far ranging conquests were not atypical.. He

was already that same distance from Napata by the time he re-conquered the Egyptian Delta in his 20th year. Like the young Alexander three centuries later, one conquest might well have served to invite another. But we need more than speculation. What is required in the case of Piankhi is precisely what was absent in the case of Psamtik - monumental evidence. It is inconceivable that an Egyptian pharaoh could participate in the life and death struggles of the Assyrian empire and leave no record of the fact.

Our search for the missing monuments of Piankhi is guided by several clearly defined criteria. The inscriptions we seek should constitute a sequel to what is already preserved on the Piankhi stela, i.e. they should begin by describing conquests beyond the borders of Egypt soon after the 21st year of the king. And these military enterprises should correspond precisely with the recorded activity of the Egyptian army preserved in the Babylonian Chronicles of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadrezzar. It is imperative, therefore, that we examine the Babylonian Chronicle.

The Chronicle History

We will not quote extensively from the narrative of the Babylonian Chronicle, save where absolutely necessary. D.J. Wiseman, its first editor, provides a summary in his *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (henceforth CCK). We simply reproduce that summary, eliminating from consideration extraneous matters. This should be sufficient for our purposes.

The details of the Chronicle are dated by the years of Nabopolassar. We have cross referenced these to the years of Piankhi on the assumption, yet to be proved, that the Egyptian army mentioned in several contexts belongs to him. It is not essential that we identify the year 616 B.C. as Piankhi's 23rd year. There is, as previously stated, some flexibility in the method by which the Piankhi years were determined from the data provided by Aston. But as it turns out, the date is correct.

When we begin the search for Piankhi's missing historiography we look for inscriptions which begin in his 23nd year (or late in his 22nd year), and

continue year by year in parallel with the records provided by the Babylonian Chronicle. If Piankhi's 23nd year corresponds to the 10th year of Nabopolassar, his 24th must correspond to Nabopolassar's 11th and so on until the death of the Babylonian king in his 21st year, the 34th of Piankhi. The parallels should continue into the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, Nabopolassar's son and successor. The comparison should not be difficult. How decisive it will be, remains to be seen. In view of the length of the Chronicle, is seems best to divide the time into manageable units, beginning with the account of the years 10-15 of Nabopolassar. Wiseman's summary for these years is reproduced in table 1 below. The Egyptian years of Piankhi are added for reference purposes.

According to the Chronicle, as previously noted, an Egyptian army fought with Sinsharishkun (the successor of Ashurbanipal) in defense of his Assyrian kingdom in the year 616 B.C. When first mentioned the two armies are acting in league in the vicinity of Qablinu, an Assyrian town on the upper Euphrates, several hundred miles east of the great bend which marked the western extremity of the Assyrian Empire.

We are uninformed concerning the nature of the alliance that existed between Egypt and Assyria, but we may safely conclude from the Qablinu incident two facts, readily conceded by scholars. For Egypt to be militarily active so far east of the Euphrates it must already control the lands which lie between Egypt and the Euphrates, possibly (though not certainly) including the area referred to in the *Chronicle* as the Hatti-lands[16]. This is the equivalent of modern day Syria and Lebanon. We must also assume that Assyria had forfeited any claim over this same territory as part of an alliance forged between the two nations. The precise nature of the alliance is unknown, but the fact of its existence has already been argued in *Nebuchadnezzar*, and evidence was therein produced that Shabaka, a subordinate king within Egypt under Piankhi, was an active participant in its execution.

[16]For discussion related to the Hittites and the Hatti lands see below pp. 92-3 & 110.

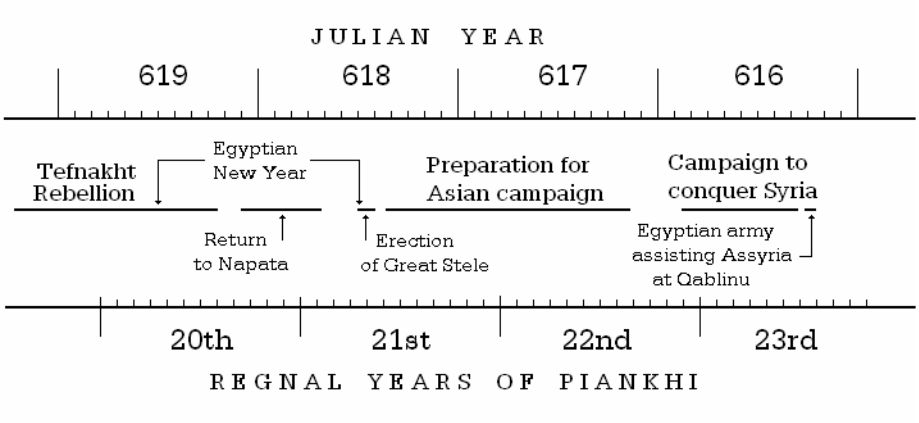
Table 1: Nabopolassar years 10-15 (616-611 B.C.)

Julian Year B.C.	Babylonian Date	**Events recorded by B.M.21901**	Egyptian Date
616	Nabopolassar 9/10	Suhu and Hindanu submit to Nabopolassar. Assyrian army reported *Nebuchadrezzar* in Qablinu. Assyrians withdraw and are beaten by Babylonians. Mannaean auxiliaries and Assyrian nobles captured. Babylonian expedition against Mane, Sahiru and Balihu. Return to Babylon. Hindanu plundered on the way. ***Assyrian and Egyptian armies pursue as far as Qablinu and then withdraw.***	Piankhi 22/23
615	Nabopolassar 10/11	Babylonians begin siege of Assur. Unsuccessful attack on the city which is relieved by Assyrian mobilization. Babylonians retreat down Tigris to Takrit. Assyrian unsuccessful siege of Takrit for 10 days. Assyrians withdraw after retreat. Nabopolassar returns home. Medes raid Arraphu.	Piankhi 23/24
614	Nabopolassar 11/12	Medes march against Nineveh. Capture (?) Of Tarbisu. March down Tigris to besiege Assur. Assur captured and plundered by Medes. Nabopolassar meets Kyaxares and makes alliance. Both forces return home.	Piankhi 24/25
613	Nabopolassar 12/13	Revolt of Suhu. Nabopolassar captures Rahilu. Unsuccessful Babylonian siege of ‘Ana. Approach of Assyrian army forces Babylonians to withdraw.	Piankhi 25/26
612	Nabopolassar 13/14	Babylonians march north. Join with Umman-manda against Nineveh. Siege of Nineveh. Fall of Nineveh. Death of Sin-šar-iškun. City and temples plundered and destroyed. Some defenders escape. Departure of Kyaxares and Medes. Nabopolassar marches as far as Nisibin. Receives booty from Rusapu at Nineveh. Assur-uballit assumes rule of Assyria in Harran.	Piankhi 26/27
611	Nabopolassar 14/15	Nabopolassar in Nineveh then returns home(?) Babylonian expedition to Upper Euphrates (Assyria). Two areas subdued. Capture of Rugguliti	Piankhi 27/28

We notice in the *Chronicle* that no military assistance for Assyria is documented for the critical years following 616 B.C., those which precede and overlap the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.. Even the year 611 B.C. makes no mention of Egypt. Only in 610 B.C. do we again hear of further dialogue between Assyria and her ally. Where was the Egyptian army during these critical years? We must assume that it was preoccupied elsewhere, possibly maintaining its hold over its Syrian possessions. If our time-line is accurate those lands had been conquered only months before the Qablinu affair.

We can conjecture a tentative timetable for the years leading up to and including the first year of Piankhi's Asian campaign. Late in 619 B.C., around the middle of Piankhi's 20th year, he concluded his suppression of the Tefnakht rebellion which began a year or so earlier. Late in his 20th year he retired to Napata, where his Great Stela was erected in the first month of the Egyptian year, in his 21st year. For the balance of his 21st year, and through almost the whole of his 22nd year, thus through the years 618 and 617 B.C., he prepared for his Asian campaign, which was launched early in 616 B.C. (in the last weeks of his 22nd year). We assume, since his army appears in Qablinu, allied with the Assyrians, in October of that year (now his 23rd), that Piankhi's conquest of Syria occupied only seven or eight months. This hypothetical timetable is represented in figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Hypothetical timeline for Piankhi's military activity following the Tefnakht Rebellion



If we are correct, the assistance offered to Assyria by Piankhi was no act of altruism. The Babylonians were as much a threat to Piankhi's recently acquired and tentative hold on Syria as they were to the territorial possessions of Assyria. Egypt and Assyria formed an alliance of mutual defense. Following the Qablinu incident, Egypt's energies were apparently absorbed in maintaining its hold on Syria.

We expect, in light of this discussion, that the monuments of Piankhi, if they exist, will confirm the essential features of this proposed historical outline. We anticipate that they will identify Piankhi's 23nd year as the time when he began his warfare in the region of Syria/Palestine, and further, that later in this campaign his armies were in the vicinity of the upper Euphrates. More importantly, the inscriptions should provide evidence of an early alliance with Assyria, and perhaps even mention Babylon as an antagonist of Egypt. Furthermore, they should confirm our suspicion that the 23rd through 28th years of Piankhi consisted of a sequence of expeditions through the regions of Syria/Lebanon to gather tribute and discourage revolt.

It is time to examine the Egyptian monuments in search of a parallel to this hypothetical construct.

Menkheperre Thutmose

We do not have to search far and wide for the Piankhi monuments. They were inscribed - predictably for a king noted for his piety and devotion to the god Amun - in the easternmost extremity of the Amun temple in Thebes. There, surrounding the shrine of his patron deity, as if in gratitude for all that the god had given him, Piankhi constructed, or reconstructed, enclosure walls on the north, west and south, the eastern wall of the temple serving to complete the enclosure. On the face of the newly renovated walls, beginning on the eastern extremity of the north wall and circling counter-clockwise through the western and southern walls, he composed his Annals. *They begin, as expected, with a Syrian campaign initiated in the final weeks of his 22nd year*!

It goes without saying that the name of Piankhi is absent from the

inscriptions. Instead they are credited to a king Menkheperre Thutmose, whose prenomen and nomen occur frequently. The name is well known to historians as the epithet of an 18th dynasty king, whose reign is typically dated to the 15th century B.C., and in consequence the inscription, in its entirety, has been dated in that time frame. In order not to prejudice our cause we will say little more at this time about the 15th century Menkheperre, known to historians as Thutmose III. In a later chapter, in our discussion of the evidence forthcoming from the Barkal temple at Napata, we will have cause to elaborate. Sufficient here to note that Thutmose III is known to history as a great military leader, indeed, as the greatest native military figure in the entire span of Egyptian history, a reputation based largely on the content of the Annals we are about to read. Needless to say, if we are correct, and the Annals belong instead to the 7th century Piankhi, the life story of Thutmose III as preserved in the standard textbooks is a fiction. Indeed, the entire history of the 18th dynasty, and of the ancient Near Eastern context in which that dynasty is placed, is seriously in error, and will be dramatically affected by the changes we are about to recommend. It is no small matter with which we are about to deal. We must proceed with caution.

The critic should be assured at the outset that we have no intention of dethroning the earlier king. We do not deny the existence of an 18th dynasty Menkheppere Thutmose. We argue only that Piankhi adopted the names of this earlier king as his own and that centuries of scholarship have wrongly proceeded on the assumption that every inscription which bears this name was authored by the 15th century king. But the scholars are wrong, and the consequences of their error for both the history of the 18th and of the 25th dynasties have been dramatic. When the record is set straight it will be necessary to radically rewrite the histories of both dynasties. Indeed, all of Egyptian dynastic history will be significantly affected.

In the first chapter of this book we outlined our agenda - first to find inscriptions which clearly parallel the actions of the Egyptian army in the late 7th century B.C. as described in the Babylonian Chronicle and in the Hebrew Bible. And then to demonstrate that the inscriptions in all likelihood belong to Piankhi. The first objective will require four chapters, as we demonstrate not only that the Menkheperre Annals fit

perfectly in the suggested late 7th century context, but also that their traditional 15th century milieu is untenable. A necessary corollary of this argument is that the king Menkheppere Thutmose named in the Annals cannot be the 15th century king by that name. And if he is not Piankhi, then who is he?

Only in the sixth and following chapters of this book do we proceed to provide an historical context for this king Menkheperre, proving the reasonableness of our hypothesis that Menkheperre Thutmose was but another epithet of Piankhi. But that agenda needs to be emended ever so slightly. It will be an enormous and unnecessary burden on the reader to ask him/her to continue reading without some further support for our claim that Piankhi was known to his contemporaries by the name Menkheperre Thutmose. The argument need not be long, since it will be taken up again in later chapters.

Duplicate Regnal Names

To appreciate the argument which follows the reader needs to know that Egyptian kings, at the time of their coronation, typically adopted four names, which, in combination with their birth name (nomen), constituted a five-fold titulary unique to that king. The adopted names are known to scholars as the "horus", "two ladies"(or "nebty"), "golden horus" and "nsw-byty" names, the later often referred to as the "throne name" or "prenomen" of the king. Of these five names only two, the prenomen and nomen, typically appear on the monuments, each enclosed in a cartouche, as is the case in the annals of Menkheperre Thutmose, alias Piankhi

It has been acknowledged since the early days of the 20th century that Piankhi, at least on one of his Napatan monuments, adopted as his own the "horus", "two ladies:" and "golden horus" names of Menkheperre Thutmose. When the Harvard Egyptologist Harry Reisner excavated at the Barkal temple, in the early decades of the last century, he uncovered, near the spot where the great Piankhi stela had been found a half century earlier, another stela, this one made of sandstone, bearing the five fold titulary of a Napatan king. Unfortunately the prenomen and nomen of the

king had been "savagely chiseled"[17] out by an unfriendly successor. Fortunately, the "horus", "two ladies" and "golden horus" names remained intact. The name of Piankhy had been added to one of the damaged cartouches by an unknown third party, suggestive of the fact that Piankhy was the author of this damaged stela.. Indeed Reisner, after examining an undamaged area within one cartouche, was able to read "confidently the name Mery-[Amun]-P'i-'nkhy." In Reisner's opinion "the general appearance, the language, the script, all point to the early Ethiopian period", leaving little doubt that the stela originated from the time of Piankhi, thus securing the identification. But there was a problem. The horus, nebty and golden horus names on this stela were not typical of the titulary names on other Piankhi inscriptions within the Barkal temple, nor of those found elsewhere in Nubia. In the words of Reisner these three names belong to "the usual titulary of Thumosis III." But now Piankhi was using them as his own.[18]

Nearby the sandstone stela Reisner unearthed another monument bearing the identical three names, this time with the two additional cartouche names intact. But here the cartouche names are those of Menkheperre Thutmose and the stela, which contained an abbreviated account of the major incidents in this king's life, with many duplications from the Theban temple Annals, was clearly the work of the same king who authored those Annals. There was for Reisner no entertaining the notion that this third Barkal stele *and* the Theban temple Annals belonged to Piankhi. The question would never have been raised. For him the Thutmose stela served only to provide an explanation for the presence of Thutmose's horus, golden horus, and nebty names on Piankhi's sandstone stela. "Written on the granite stela which was on view at Napata, the titulary stood ready to be imitated by any of the Ethiopian kings; and **we know they copied many of their names from the older names of Egyptian kings**" (emphasis added).

Needless to say, we disagree with Reisner's explanation (though we do

[17]G.A. Reisner, "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal" ZAS 66 (1931) 93. All of the quotes related to the sandstone stele are taken from pages of this article, s.v "The Sandstone Stela of Piankhy, No. 26," on pp. 86-100.

[18]There remains a distinct possibility that Piankhi did not in fact copy the three non-cartouche names of the titulary of Thutmose III. They may have been uniquely his. To date I am aware of any document which uses these names that cannot be attributed to Piankhi.

agree with the emphasized sentiment). We wonder, as he no doubt wondered, how and why an 800 year old monument of an 18th dynasty pharaoh, weighing multiple tons, came to lie side by side with Piankhi's sandstone stela **in a temple built by Piankhi!** But there they sat, within a few meters of one another, both bearing the identical three titulary names. It is irrelevant whether the obliterated cartouche names on the sandstone stela also originally read Menkheperre Thutmose (as seems likely) or Meryamun Piankhi (as restored by some later scribe). At minimum the sandstone stela serves to confirm the fact that Piankhi, at least once in his life, adopted as his own three of the five titulary names of Thutmose III, a titulary which, in Reisner's stated opinion, is "used by no other Egyptian king."

The excavations at Barkal also established beyond doubt that Piankhi was ambivalent regarding his first cartouche name, his prenomen. On several monuments in the Barkal temple he employed as his own the prenomen of Ramses II (Usermaatre), on others the prenomen of a 5th dynasty pharaoh Senefere. He seemed to have adopted each name to suit some specific purpose, now unknown, like a chameleon adapts his colors on an ad hoc basis to suit his environment. More often than not, he used no personal name at all in his first cartouche, choosing instead as his prenomen the identical name (Piankhi) he employed as his nomen. And as we will see in chapter six, Piankhi is not even a personal name, but rather a title, with indeterminate meaning, but more than likely a designation of rank. The fact that it may simply be the Nubian word for "king", a proposal first raised by F. Laming McAdam, the excavator of the Kawa temple (whose work was discussed briefly in *Nebuchadnezzar*), remains a distinct possibility. But if Piankhi is not a name, and is only a title, then what were the cartouche names of the 25th dynasty patriarch? We cannot be faulted for suggesting that they were "Menkheperre Thutmose". It is not a guess. At least in one instance, in the opinion of a majority of Egyptologists, he did adopt the prenomen Menkheperre.

A stela known to Egyptologists from early in the 19th century, now in the Louvre (C 100), bearing a double cartouche and containing a poetical eulogy of a king's daughter named Mutirdis, has been the subject of much discussion over several centuries. The author identifies himself by his prenomen Menkheperre, but the second cartouche name is damaged,

beginning with a hieroglypic sign variously read as "ra" or "kh" or "set" or "p", and ending with a clearly articulated "y". The intermediate sign is completely obliterated. Both the provenance of the stela and internal criteria have convinced scholars that it originates from the area of Hermopolis, and that it dates to the Ethiopian period. The name was variously read by early scholars as ra-men-y or kh-men-y (cf. Petrie HE III 292-293) but by the middle of the twentieth century was assigned to Pi-ankh-y by no less an authority than Von Beckerath[19]. Even Kenneth Kitchen, the last holdout among Egyptologists specializing in the 3rd Intermediate Period, in the supplement to the 2nd edition of his influential *3rd Intermediate Period* (1986), has advised that we should "delete the supposed local king Menkheperre Khmuny rather, one should read Menkheperre Pi(ankh)y on the famous stela Louvre C.100 (i.e. Piankhy himself)."[20] This is no small admission considering the nature of the inscription. For in the body of the text Piankhy appears to identify himself solely by the name Menkheperre, as if that name was sufficient to identify the author. We quote Petrie's translation of the extant portion of the stela:

> A sweet of love, the prophetess of Hathor, Mutardus
> A sweet of love unto the king, Menkheperra
> A sweet of love unto all men,
> A lovely one to all women, is this royal daughter,
> A sweet of love, the beautiful of women;
> A damsel of whom thou hast not seen the like;
> Black is her hair more than the blackness of night,
> More than the fruit of the sloe;
> Red is her cheek more than the pebble of jasper,
> More than the crushing of henna;
> Her bosom is more captivating than her arms, ... HE III 293-4.

It is no serious objection that this is the only document linking the name Menkheperre unambiguously with Piankhi. As we have stated earlier, Piankhi is a Nubian title, and as such would have little meaning in an Egyptian context. This stela, erected in honor of an esteemed daughter, perhaps established as a priestess of Hathor in Hermopolis after the conquest of that city, is one of the few Egyptian inscriptions in which the Nubian title was maintained and the only one which preserves Piankhi's

[19]MDAIK 24 (1969) 58-62
[20]TIP 525

prenomen. It is noteworthy therefore that the prenomen used was Menkheperre. We cannot help but suspect that this was the name he used most frequently.

At minimum we have established that Piankhi, at least once in his life, adopted as his own four of the five titulary names of Thutmose III. It is not a large step to assume that he employed the fifth name (Thutmose) as well. To argue that he did not would be a begging of the question, since hundreds of monuments attest the presence of both names. It is only because Egyptologists insist on identifying all of these monuments as the property of an 18th dynasty king that the claim can be made that Piankhi did not employ all five names as his own. In light of this there can be no strong objection to our proceeding. As we will soon see, it is not the name which constitutes the difficulty in the identification we propose. But the name was clearly the first hurdle to be overcome.

In passing we mention one other reason for suggesting that scholars should not object strenuously to our proposal that two pharaohs bore the name Menkheperre Thutmose. It is not without precedent, particularly in the late 22nd dynasty time frame in which Piankhi lived, for a king to bear both the throne name and personal name of an illustrious predecessor. We have noted, both in *Nebuchadrezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, and in some of our responses to criticism of that book, the serious confusion which has arisen because of the assumed existence of two Egyptian kings bearing the name Hedjkheppere Sheshonk, two kings bearing the name Hedjkheperre Takeloth, and two kings bearing the names Usimare Setepenamun Osorkon Meryamun. It should surprise no one to find that there were two kings bearing the name Menkheperre Thutmose It is the contents of the Annals, not the name of the king named therein, that should inform us whether we are dealing with a 15th century or a 7th century pharaoh.

Before we examine the Annals we cannot help but comment on our good fortune. When, in the first book of our *Displaced Dynasties* series, we reduced the dates of dynasties 22-26 by 121 years, the 25th dynasty patriarch Piankhi became the only viable candidate for the role of Egyptian ally to Sinsharishkun and Assuruballit, the terminal kings of the Assyrian Empire. When we search the Amun temple for historiography

which resembles the actions of Egypt during those critical years, as portrayed in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Hebrew Bible, we find a remarkable parallel in only one instance, the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose. Is it merely by chance that the only Egyptian king other than Thutmose III of the 18th dynasty who could possibly have authored the Annals, because he is the only other king known to have used Thutmose's names, is this same Piankhi?

The Annals of Menkheperre

The Annals of Menkheperre, alias Piankhi, have been widely publicized and extensively analyzed since the days of Lepsius. The Egyptologist James Henry Breasted, whose influential five volume publication of the *Ancient Records of Egypt* provided the translation of the Piankhi stela used earlier (BAR IV) also contains a translation and discussion of the Annals (BAR II 391-540). His initial remarks serve as an appropriate introduction to the inscription.

> This document, containing no less than 223 lines, is the longest and most important historical inscription in Egypt, and forms the most complete account of the military achievements of any Egyptian king. It demonstrates the injustice of the criticism that the Egyptians were incapable of giving a clear and succinct account of a military campaign, for it shows plainly that at least in this reign careful, systematic records were made and preserved in the royal archives, giving a detailed account of each invasion in language indicating the strategic operations of the army in each of its many campaigns. BAR II 391

The Annals, according to Breasted, "are in a very bad state of preservation, the upper courses having mostly disappeared, and with them the upper parts of the vertical lines of the inscription."[21] They are composed in sections corresponding to the separate campaigns of the king, and the numbering of each confirms the fact that Menkheperre undertook seventeen distinct campaigns, the last taking place in his 42nd year. Most, but not all of these, are documented sequentially on the walls surrounding the holy of holies of the god Amun. Though several sections are so badly preserved as to be unreadable, sufficient is preserved to serve our purposes.

[21]BAR II, p.164, note a.

The period under review, which includes the years 23-28 of Piankhi, encompasses the first four campaigns, but only the first two are documented in the shrine inscription. The third was inscribed elsewhere in the Amun temple and the fourth, covering years 26-28 (the time of the fall of Nineveh), is lost. Assuming it was recorded at all (there being some suspicion it was not) it must have been inscribed elsewhere in the temple, where it was subsequently destroyed. The descriptions of the first three campaigns are translated by Breasted in sections 408-453 of his *Ancient Records* (BAR II). The first, and arguably the most significant campaign, that which began late in the king's 22nd year, and continued through the first eight months of his 23rd year, is preserved almost intact.

The First Campaign

According to Breasted, the initial and by all accounts the most important of Menkheperre's campaigns in Asia is also the most fully documented. It begins with a description of one of the most famous military encounters in antiquity, known to historians as the "Battle of Megiddo".

Late in his 22nd year the king set out from Tharu on the eastern border of Egypt with intent to conquer domains stretching from Judea to the Euphrates. He had not traveled far before encountering a coalition of Syrian kings ("practically all Syria" to use Breasted's phraseology) assembled against him at the site of ancient Megiddo, near the Jezreel valley in Palestine. Apparently they had gathered specifically to oppose his northward advance. At the end of the ten day trek from Tharu to Gaza, en route to Megiddo, the king celebrated an anniversary of his coronation, and events are thereafter assigned to his 23rd year. But the Julian year remains unchanged. It is early March of 616 B.C.

> Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), on the twenty-fifth day [his majesty was in] Tharu (*T̲ꜣ-rw*) on the first victorious expedition to [extend] the boundaries of Egypt with might ---.
> Now, (at) that period [the Asiatics had fallen into] disagreement, each man [fighting] against [his neighbor] -----. Now, it happened that the tribes ---- ---- the people, who were there in the city of Sharuhen (*Šꜣ-rꜣ-ḥꜣ-n*); behold, *from Yeraza (Y-rꜣ-d̲ꜣ) to the marshes of the earth*, (they) had begun to revolt against his majesty.
> Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the fourth day, the

> day of the feast of the king's coronation, (he arrived) at the city, the possession of the ruler, Gaza (*G3-ḏ3-tw*).
> [Year 23] first month of the third season (ninth month), on the fifth day; departure from this place in might, — — in power, and in triumph, to overthrow that wretched foe, to extend the boundaries of Egypt, according as his father, Amon-Re, [had commanded — —] that he seize.
> Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the sixteenth day, (he arrived) at the city of Yehem (*Y-ḥm*). BAR II 415-419 (italics added)

From the itinerary and the few added comments we glean a considerable amount of information. Apparently this Syrian campaign was undertaken by Menkheperre to recover domains which had previously been conquered, but were now in revolt, much the same situation that had prevailed during the Tefnakht rebellion. As for the datelines, they are critical in proving our case. On the one hand they enable us to establish the approximate date when Piankhi's regnal years began and ended. On the other, they provide us with the precise date when the assault on the city of Megiddo began, which, in conjunction with information from elsewhere describing the duration of the assault, tells us when the assault ended. We will comment on the specifics momentarily.

The Annals at this point begin to tell the story of the Megiddo battle, a narrative which occupies almost the whole of the balance of the space dedicated to the first campaign. The battle occurs in two stages, beginning with open warfare between the two sides in the near vicinity of Megiddo, but outside its fortified walls. This stage of the assault began on the 21st day of the ninth month, only five days after the army departed Yehem. It lasted only a few days. Piankhi was victorious, but his armies, as they had during the course of the Tefnakht rebellion, failed to capitalize on the advantage. Rather than pursue the Syrians in flight, they scrambled to seize material goods abandoned on the battlefield. Piankhi's army was effective, but badly disciplined.

The leaders of the Syrian league, and the remnant of their combined armies, seized the opportunity and sought sanctuary within the walls of Megiddo. Piankhi was compelled to renew the battle. A prolonged assault of the city was initiated. Piankhi could only lament the unnecessary extension of the conflict as he ordered the siege of Megiddo.

> Then spake his majesty on hearing the words of his army, saying: "Had ye captured [this city] afterward, behold, I would have given — Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because *it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo* (*My-k-ty*). Capture ye mightily, mightily ... BAR II 432 (italics added)

In the seventh month after the siege began it ended successfully. The Annals record the outcome, they do not discuss its duration. For that bit of information we are dependant on a stela inscription not available to Breasted when he wrote his *Ancient Records*. We refer to the granite stela of Menkheperre Thutmose discovered several decades later by Reisner in his 1915/16 excavations at the Barkal temple in Napata, a stela already mentioned in our discussion of Piankhi's names. [Henceforth we will refer to this monument as the granite stele to distinguish it from Piankhi's Great Stele and his sandstone stele.] There, in the first court of the temple of Amun, the identical location where the Great Stele of Piankhi was discovered in 1862, Reisner unearthed from the debris the sequel to Piankhi's story. But this second monument was inscribed with the name Menkheperre, not Piankhi, and it was erected in the kings 43rd year, over two decades after the suppression of the Tefnakht rebellion, and at the end of the military career of the great warrior king. It is not the case that Piankhi had changed his name between his 21st and his 43rd years. As we will see in the second half of this book, the name Menkheperre Thutmose was adopted at the beginning of his kingship.

The Barkal stela, made of grey granite, is even taller, though not so wide, as the "Great Stela" of Piankhi. According to Reisner "the slab is 173 cm. high, 97 cm. wide, and about 15 cm thick." We will have cause to return to its inscription several times in the course of our investigation. Here we are concerned to note only the important reference to the battle at Megiddo.

> Now I relate to you further (deeds). Hear ye, O people. He [Amun] commanded (i.e. granted) to me the foreign lands of Retenuw in the first campaign, when they came to contend with My Majesty with millions of men, hundreds of thousands of the foremost of all foreign lands, and stood on their chariots, being 330 chiefs, each at the head of his army. (line 19)
> Now they were in the valley of Kina, encamped indeed in a trap (?), (and) I had a great success among them. My majesty attacked them and they fled at once, falling down in heaps of slain. (line 20)
> They entered Megiddo, and My Majesty besieged it for a period of seven months

> without their coming forth (i.e. until they came forth) beseeching My Majesty, saying: Give us thy breath, O our Lord, (for) the foreigners of Retenuw will never again be rebellious." (line 21)[22]

It is clear from the granite stele (and from the description of the battle of Megiddo in the Annals) that the leader of the coalition which opposed Menkheperre was the "chief of Kadesh", a city in north central Syria. When the battle ended, and the Syrian chiefs acknowledged Piankhi's sovereignty, it was the chief of Kadesh who acted as their spokesman.

> Then that fallen one (the chief of Kadesh) together with the chiefs who were with him, sent forth to My Majesty all their people (?) bearing many gifts of gold and silver, all their horses and that which belonged to them, their great chariots of gold and silver and those which were painted, all their battle armor, their bows, their arrows, all their weapons of war. These it was which they came from afar to fight against My Majesty, and now they brought them as gifts to My Majesty. Meanwhile they were standing on their walls and were giving praise (obeisance) to My Majesty, seeking that the breath of life be given to them. (lines 22,23)
> Then My Majesty caused them to swear an oath, saying: We will never again act evilly against Menkheperra, may he live forever, our Lord, in our life-time (as long as we live), for we have seen his glory. Let him give to us breath as he wishes. His father (?) it is who has (done it (for him), Amon-Ra Lord of Karnak), not indeed the power of man." (line 24)
> Then My Majesty let them take the road to their cities, and they departed all of them (riding) on donkeys, for I was in possession of (I took) their horse-chariots. I carried off the citizens thereof as booty to Egypt, and their chattels likewise." (line 25)[23]

It is noteworthy that Menkheperre and Piankhi share the same intense, almost passionate devotion to the god Amon. It is also significant that the only tribute worthy of mention by Menkheperre are the horses of the Syrian chieftains (not "horse-chariots" as Reisner translates[24]). If the two pharaohs lived over 800 years apart, it is intriguing that they share the same passions. Apparently Amun has not lost his preeminence over that extreme duration! But that is an issue for another time.

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[22]G.A. Reisner and M.B. Reisner, "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal: Part 2," ZAS 69 (1933) 31-2. The comments in round brackets ( ) belong to Reisner. Any additions by myself, here or elsewhere, are enclosed in square brackets [ ].
[23]Ibid, p. 32-3.
[24]There is no mention of chariots in the inscription. The text refers only to htrw-sn "their horses" and even adds the ideograph for horses, for good measure.

It appears, at first glance, that the subject of most interest to us, Piankhi's subsequent tour of conquest in Syria, and his brief liaison with the Assyrians, is not discussed in the granite Stela and is all but overlooked in the brief sequel recorded in the Annals. The later, having devoted most of its space to the details of the Megiddo incident, concludes with only a few hints of subsequent events, contained in a brief description of plunder taken during the first campaign.

> List of that which was afterward taken by the king, of the household goods of that foe who was in the [the city of] Yenoam (*Y-nw-ʿ3-mw*), in Nuges (*Yn-yw-g-s3*), and in Herenkeru (*Ḥw-r-n-k3-rw*), *together with all the goods of those cities which submitted themselves*, which were brought to [his majesty: 474] —; 38 lords ([*m-r3-y-}n3*) of theirs, 87 children of that foe and of the chiefs who were with him, 5 lords of theirs, 1,796 male and female slaves with their children, non-combatants who surrendered because of famine with that foe, 103 men; total, 2503. BAR II 436 (italics added)

There follows a brief description of the physical treasure looted from the Syrian cities. Then the record ends and the annalist begins an account of the second campaign.

The Extent of the 1st Campaign

We might be tempted, on reading the Annals, to minimize the scope of Menkheperre's tour of conquest following the battle of Megiddo. Only three cities are singled out for attention - Yenoam, Nuges, Herenkeru. Were it not for inscriptions located elsewhere in the Karnak temple, we might have difficulty proving our case. For it follows from what has been said thus far that if Menkheperre did not advance to the Euphrates following the Battle of Megiddo, and there act in league with Assyria in driving back the army of Nabopolassar at Qablinu, then our identification is in error. Our hypothesis must be incorrect. Fortunately the sequel to the assault on Megiddo can be determined from sundry details in the Annals themselves, and from inscriptions elsewhere in the Theban temple of Amun.

The additional inscriptions alluded to consist of two distinct lists of cities conquered by Menkheperre in the course of his first campaign. The first

list, preserved in triplicate[25] lists 119 cities conquered by the Egyptian king. Breasted describes these cities as occupying the region "from the northern limits of Palestine southward an uncertain distance into Judea, as well as Damascus and its district". But this description is inaccurate. In Breasted's own words, one of the lists of conquered cities is introduced by a title "*which would indicate that some of the places belong farther north*". This introductory "title" specifically states that the conquered cities occupied "*all inaccessible lands of the marshes of Asia",* lands which *"had never been trodden by the other kings, beside his majesty.*"[26] The phrase "marshes of Asia" mentioned in this heading is almost certainly the same area alluded to in the introductory lines of the Annals, a passage quoted earlier. In those opening lines, in the introduction to his first campaign, it was Menkheperre's stated objective to recover for Egypt lands stretching "from Yeraza (*Y-r3-ḏ3*) to the marshes of the earth", a phrase to which Breasted adds an explanatory footnote: "that is, from northwestern Judea to beyond the Euphrates."[27] Surely Menkheperre did not boast of setting out to conquer all of Syria, to the waters of the Euphrates, only to settle for territories largely south of the Lebanon.[28]

But if this list of cities, duplicated elsewhere, hints at the fact that Menkheperre crossed the Euphrates in his first campaign, a second list, longer than the first, is even more suggestive. According to Breasted, basing his comments on an earlier analysis of the list by Müller:

> The second list[29] embraced 248 names (of which many are lost) of cities in northern Syria and also perhaps as far east as the Chaboras River, but our geographical knowledge of this region is too meager as yet to identify any number of the places included. BAR II 403

The Chaboras River (Khabur River) is a tributary of the Euphrates, lying

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[25]One copy is inscribed on the north end of the 6th pylon, accompanying the list of feasts and offerings, and the other two are found on the north and south sides respectively of the 8th pylon. Cf. BAR II 402 note a.

[26]BAR II 402 (italics added)

[27]BAR II 416 note d.

[28]Breasted is forced to ignore the mention of Kadesh at the head of the list of conquered cities. In the context of the balance of the Annals, this can only refer to Kadesh on the Orontes, only a few hundred miles from the Euphrates.

[29]This list, according to Breasted, is inscribed "on the 8th pylon at Karnak, acting as an appendix to the third copy of the first list". BAR II 403 (p.171) note b.

entirely east of its western bend. It enters the Euphrates not far from the city of Qablinu (see figure 3, p. 23). According to Müller the conquests of Menkheperre extended that far. But the critic may argue, with some justification, that these Euphrates territories may have been conquered in later campaigns. Arguments based on the second list cannot be pressed too far. But the second list is unnecessary to prove our point.

The shorter list of conquered cities, in all three versions, begins with the name of Kadesh, the city of the rebel leader, as if to underscore its strategic importance. There can be no doubt that the first campaign extended at least that far north. And as can be seen from any map of the area, Kadesh lies at approximately the same latitude as Qablinu. Advancing that far, Piankhi would have ready access to the Euphrates where his forces could join ranks with the Assyrian army.

But we anticipate an objection from the critic. Why did Menkheperre omit any mention of the conquest of Syria (other than the inclusion of the name of Kadesh), both in the Annals and in the Barkal stele. Why does he single out for mention only three insignificant Lebanese towns, if he truly advanced as far as central Syria? And how did he conquer all of Lebanon and Syria in such a short time? The latter objection will surely be voiced most strenuously. The siege of Megiddo began on the 21st day of the 9th Egyptian month, thus late in March 616 B.C.[30] According to the Barkal stela it ended seven months later, probably mid to late October. The Babylonian Chronicle dates the actions of the Egyptian/Assyrian coalition in the month Tashritu, at latest mid to late October. Menkheperre must have conquered the whole of this vast territory in a few days, certainly less than a week. How was this possible?

Far from being a serious objection to our thesis, the time-line actually serves to confirm it's accuracy by suggesting a common answer to all

[30]Throughout this book we assume as a given that the Egyptian year at this time in history began very early in July. The 1st season of the Egyptian calendar was called Akhat (the inundation) for a reason. The Nile floods in Egypt typically begin at the beginning of our summer season, thus early in July. The floods last into September. Thus the beginning of the Egyptian year is deemed to begin with the inundation of the Nile, in early July. Two facts follow from this assumption. Piankhi's coronation is dated in the Annals to the 4th day of the 9th month. This assumes that his regnal years began and ended around the beginning of March. Additionally the Annals date the beginning of the assault on the city of Megiddo to the 21st day of the 9th month, thus late in March in the Julian year.

questions. It is transparent from our earlier comments regarding the battle of Megiddo that all the chief cities of Syria were aligned against Menkheperre on the plains near Megiddo. According to the Barkal stele there "came to contend with My Majesty ... millions of men, hundreds of thousands of the foremost of all foreign lands, and stood on their chariots, being 330 chiefs, each at the head of his army." When the fighting ended on the field of battle and the Syrian chiefs sought sanctuary within the city, Menkheperre correctly appraised the situation. By taking Megiddo he would in effect become ruler of Syria, *without having to conquer a single Syrian city*.[31] Piankhi's words at the time, quoted earlier from the Annals, bear repeating.

> Then spake his majesty on hearing the words of his army, saying: "Had ye captured [this city] afterward, behold, I would have given — Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because *it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo* (My-k-ty). Capture ye mightily, mightily ... BAR II 432

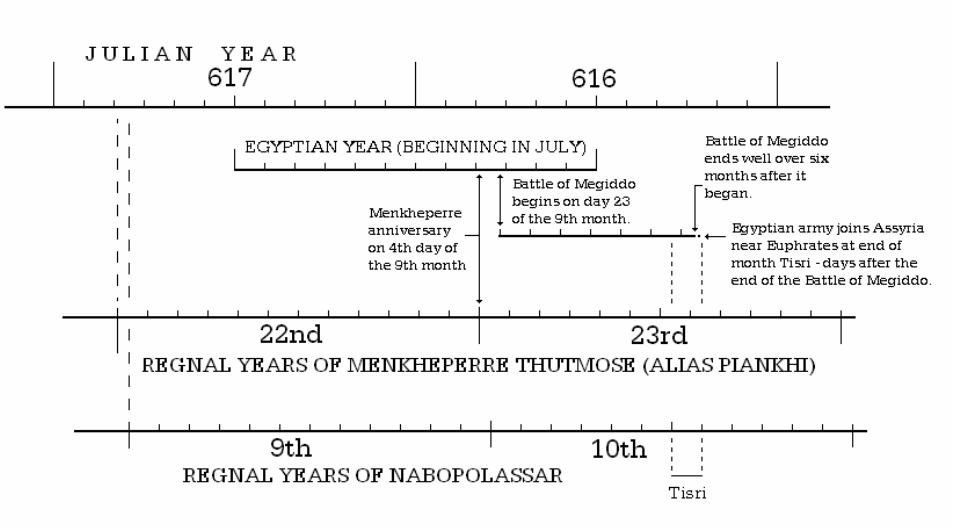
When Megiddo fell to the Egyptian army in the seventh month of the siege, all that was required for Menkheperre was a brief tour of the lands over which he was now sovereign. There was no need for further conflict. According to the Barkal stele the princes who formerly ruled these city states surrendered their authority to the Egyptian king at the conclusion of the battle of Megiddo. Piankhi could proceed northward without opposition. All of Syria belonged to Egypt. Apparently in his northward tour of victory three cities in Lebanon had a change of heart and resisted his advance. Thus their inclusion in the Annals. But from the lists of conquered cities we can surmise that Menkheperre/Piankhi now ruled the whole of lower and upper Retenu - all the Lebanon and much of Syria. It is no great stretch to assume that a portion of the Egyptian army, no longer needed following the fall of Megiddo, might be reassigned to assist Assyria in repelling the Babylonian threat, now looming. A few days march would take them to the Euphrates.

Figure 5 below summarizes the data from the Babylonian Chronicle, the Karnak Annals, and the granite stele at Barkal related to the siege of Megiddo. This data needs to be compared with the right hand section of

[31]On the assumption that Menkheperre is Piankhi we can see a parallel between Megiddo and Memphis, where several years earlier he had conquered the delta by capturing Memphis.

our hypothetical timeline for the actions of Piankhi (figure 4) introduced earlier (p. 27). They are, of course, identical. All that needs to be done is to add a few dates to the earlier figure.

Figure 5: Timeline summarizing the data from the Babylonian Chronicle, the Karnak Annals, and the granite stele at Barkal related to the siege of Megiddo.[32]


JULIAN YEAR
617
616
EGYPTIAN YEAR (BEGINNING IN JULY)
Battle of Megiddo ends well over six months after it began.
Battle of Megiddo begins on day 23 of the 9th month.
Menkheperre anniversary on 4th day of the 9th month
Egyptian army joins Assyria near Euphrates at end of month Tisri - days after the end of the Battle of Megiddo.
22nd
23rd
REGNAL YEARS OF MENKHEPERRE THUTMOSE (ALIAS PIANKHI)
9th
10th
REGNAL YEARS OF NABOPOLASSAR
Tisri

[32]When we compare the dates recorded on the Chronicle with those provided by the Annals we are dealing with two disparate calendrical schemes. The Babylonian year, composed of lunar months, began and ended at the time of the new moon in March/April of the Julian year. As a consequence its beginning (Nisan 1) within the Julian solar year varied somewhat from year to year. The years of the king began and ended on Nisan 1. The Egyptian situation is quite different. From the Annals we can determine that the years of Menkheperre are numbered from the time of his coronation on the 4th day of the 9th month. What we do not know is precisely when the 1st month of the Egyptian year began in the Julian calendar. Breasted dates the first day of the new year (Thoth 1) in the fall of the year. But this dating assumes that Menkheperre belongs to the 15th century B.C., and it presumes the reliability of the sothic dating system, which we totally reject. In the 7th century, according to several recent studies, the Egyptian year began around mid-December. But these studies also depend on the sothic dating system and are similarly flawed. Instead we assume that the Egyptian year began early in July (cf. note 29 above), the time of the annual Nile flood. The first four month season of the Egyptian year is called Akhat, meaning Inundation. The implication is that the Egyptian year began at the beginning of the Nile flood. If the beginning of the year has drifted slightly from this date, it cannot have moved significantly. And if the 1st Egyptian month began early in July, then the 9th month began early in March. On this basis we conclude that the years of Menkheperre, which began on the anniversary of his coronation on the 4th day of that month, are dated from early in the month of March. This is reflected in our figure 5.

We need to comment on only a single feature of our figure 5. As shown, the length of the siege of Megiddo is closer to 6.5 months than the 7 months cited on the granite Barkal stele. But that stele number may be nothing more than a rounding off of the actual length of the siege. Additionally, there is room in the figure for some fine tuning. We have assumed, for the sake of convenience, that the Egyptian year began on July 1. If it began earlier, the time lines for the Egyptian year and the beginning of Menkheperre's reign, would move correspondingly to the left, increasing the length of the Megiddo siege in the diagram. We have also assumed that the reign of Nabopolassar began precisely in the middle of March, an dating based entirely on expediency. If the lunar month of Nissan actually began slightly later in the 10^{th} year of Nabopolassar (a distinct probability), then the timeline for that king would move correspondingly to the right, moving the month of Tisri later in the Julian year, thereby also increasing the length of the Megiddo assault in the diagram. At minimum, the data accords well with the hypothetical timeline assumed in figure 4 on page 27. There is every reason to believe that the earlier hypothetical timeline for Piankhi, and the timeline for the military activity of king Menkheperre Thutmose, are identical, and for an obvious reason. Piankhi and Menkheperre are epithets for the same king.

Assistance to Assyria

If Menkheperre/Piankhi did in fact lend his army to assist Sinsharishkun in repelling the advances of Nabopolassar in 616 B.C., after having first conquered the whole of Syria and Palestine, what evidence is there to confirm the fact? Surely this alliance would deserve mention in the Annals. Once again we are not disappointed. We did not expect the Euphrates incident to be included in the description of the first campaign. Piankhi likely returned to Egypt long before the fall of Megiddo, leaving the conduct of the siege to his subordinates. For him the campaign was over. The army, or a portion of it, was delegated to assist Assyria and secure the Syrian lands. A record of its activities should be found instead in the Annals for the next year.

The Annals conclude their description of the first campaign with a description of the three resisting cities followed by a list of tribute. The

inscription proceeds without pause to detail Menkheperre's second campaign, undertaken the year following, his 24th year. It was apparently a tour to revisit the territories conquered the year before; perhaps to put down any insurrection, or to deter any threatened insurrection. It was certainly intended to collect tribute. The inscription begins:

> [List of the tribute of Assur and of] the chiefs of Retenu in the year 24.
> The tribute of the chief of Assur (*Ys-sw-r3*): genuine lapis lazuli, a large block, making 20 deben, 9 kidet; genujine lapis lazuli 2 blocks; total 3; and pieces, [making] 30 deben; total, 50 deben; total 50 deben and 9 kidet; fine lapis lazuli from Babylon (*Bb-r3*); vessels of Assur (*Ys-sw-r3*) of (*ḥrtt*-)stone in colors, — — — — very many. BAR II 446

Later, following a list of tribute from the chiefs of Retenu, an addendum is added detailing further "tribute" from Assur:

> Year 24. List of the tribute brought to the fame of his majesty in the country of Retenu. Tribute of the chief of Assur (*Ys-sw-r3*): h[orses] —. A [—] of skin of the *m-ḥ3-w* as the protection of a chariot, of the finest of — wood; 190 wagons --- --- — wood, *nḥb* wood, 343 pieces; carob wood, 50 pieces; *mrw* wood, 190 pieces; *nby* and *k3nk* wood, 206 pieces; [olive wood], ... Bar III 449

Concerning these items Breasted makes the following brief but interesting remark.

> Far-off Assyria also, which had now heard of the great victory of the preceding year, sent gifts, which the scribe calls "tribute" (*ynw*) like that of Syria. BAR II 444

We understand the motivation for this comment, but the reader should not pass it by unchallenged. It is a most troublesome addition to Breasted's commentary, though in fairness to the famed Egyptologist his explanation of the Assyrian tribute has not been improved on over the intervening century. But the statement makes no sense whatever. In the 15th century, when Menkheperre is said to have lived, Assyria was not the great nation that existed in the 7th century B.C., where we have dated these incidents. Its territories did not border on the western fringes of the Euphrates, but were concentrated around the upper Tigris three hundred miles to the east. Between Assyria and the Euphrates, as may be seen in any 15th century map of the Ancient Near East, lay the territory of Mitanni, ruled by powerful chiefs not overly friendly to Assyria. Then why, we ask, did the

"far-away" kingdom of Assur respond so favorably to the victories of Menkheperre, showering the Egyptian pharaoh with such a voluminous quantity of "gifts" - 190 wagons full of wood, hundreds of pounds of precious lapis lazuli, and perhaps most valuable of all, horses? The question is even more pertinent (or impertinent) if the victories of Menkheperre are limited, as Breasted suggests, to a battle in southern Palestine and a few cities in south-central Lebanon. Why send such valuable merchandise so far afield to appease a foreign dignitary who poses no threat to your security. The idea borders on the absurd. And to call this tribute "gifts" is a linguistic stretch.

And how, we enquire further, were these "gifts" securely transported over such a tremendous distance, through "unfriendly" territory? Why did the Mitanni overlords not intervene to confiscate this treasure? Why, in fact, were no "gifts" forthcoming from Mitanni to Menkheperre? The Mitanni are not even mentioned in the Annals until shortly after the 4th campaign. Later we will explain why.

The vision of 190 wagons laden with wood, of hundreds of pound of lapis lazuli, more precious by weight than gold, and unnumbered horses, toiling through the mountainous highlands wherein lie the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates, all to appease a foreign dignitary who has never ventured further north than the Lebanon, is difficult to accept. But it need not be accepted. With the Menkheperre Annals placed in a 7th century context the difficulty disappears entirely.

The tribute of Assur did not consist of gifts, freely given. Assyria had received from Egypt the previous year the ultimate gift - military aid which served to prolong the nation's life. The scribe is not mistaken. The materials sent by way of compensation were probably a negotiated settlement for the assistance rendered by Egypt. What else to call it but tribute.

And the proffered treasure did not require a lengthy and arduous journey to reach its destination. Assyria bordered the Syrian territories recently defeated by Egypt. The wagons needed only to cross the Euphrates and journey the several miles to meet with emissaries sent by Piankhi. The tribute of Assur is the surest proof of the accuracy of our claim.

Menkheperre/Piankhi had indeed reached the marshes of Asia in his 23rd year.

Assyrian Adversaries

But there are yet further indications that the campaigns of Menkheperre belong in the 7th, not in the 15th century B.C. We notice that the tribute of the 2nd campaign included, in addition to "gifts" from Assyria, "fine lapis lazuli from Babylon (*Bb-r3*)". Is this simply another coincidence - two identical situations, Babylon and Assyria having dealings with an Egyptian pharaoh who, at least in our interpretation of events, has recently employed his army in the vicinity of Qablinu, described both in the 15 century B.C. Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose and also in the 7th century Babylonian Chronicle of Nabopolassar. Or are the two documents, the Annals and the Chronicle, in error placed in time periods 800 years apart? Are they not actually describing the same events from different points of view? The circumstances are remarkably similar. The Egyptian king in both instances has the identical throne name Menkheperre and arguably the same five fold titulary. The events take place in the 23rd year of Piankhi according to calculations arrived at independently earlier in this chapter. It is the 23rd year of Menkheperre according to his Karnak temple Annals.

The reference to Babylon in the Annals of Menkheperre is for other reasons problematic for the traditional history. Babylon was a city, not the designation of a people or nation (as appears to be the case here) in the 15th century B.C.. And the "fine lapis lazuli from Babylon (*Bb-r3*)" is treated, as are all items in this section of the annals, as "tribute". Breasted wisely refrains from attempting to explain why the city of Babylon would pay tribute, or send "gifts" to an Egyptian king of no consequence. There is no palatable explanation. Babylon in the 15th century is even more distant than Assyria and thus even less likely to attempt the establishment of diplomatic relations. But by the 7th century the situation has changed dramatically. Babylon is now a nation, rivaling Assyria for control of the Upper Euphrates. It has only recently received a setback at Qablinu. Perhaps the Egyptian army acquired the lapis lazuli from Babylonian casualties in the brief skirmish at Qablinu. Or a token

"gift" might well have been sent to the Egyptian king, now the sovereign of neighboring Syria, to buy his favor. After all, Nabopolassar's quarrel was with Assyria, not with Egypt.

But the critic might intrude at this point and press the issue of the Mitanni. After all, we mentioned the existence of this nation in our discussion of the tribute from Assyra. It might be asked: If 15th century B.C. documents, including the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose (in its descriptions of later campaigns), allude to the presence of a nation called Mitanni inhabiting the lands near the bend of the Euphrates, and if the Annals actually belong to the late 7th century B.C. as we argue, then why are the Mitanni not mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle? The answer is simple - they are mentioned.

The Annals do not allude to the Mitanni until after the 4th campaign of Menkheperre, i.e. after 610 B.C. According to the Chronicle, in the year 609 B.C. the Assyrians were displaced in the Euphrates region by the combined forces of Babylon and Media. After this date the Medians inhabited part of the northern reaches of the Euphrates formerly ruled by Assyria. It follows that the Mitanni of the Annals and the Median allies of Nabopolassar are one and the same nation. We are not the first historical revisionists to argue this fact. We will comment further on the matter in the next chapter.

Clearly the history of three nations - Babylon, Assyria, and Mitanni - have been wrongly informed by the misdated Annals of Menkheperre. When the error is corrected we anticipate finding that none of these nations existed, as described in the traditional history, in the 15th century B.C. In particular the Mitanni have been badly misrepresented. If our argument is correct this 15th century nation will prove to be a total fiction, a fact argued by Immanuel Velikovsky in the middle of the twentieth century.

The 2nd & 3rd Campaigns

The 2nd campaign, during which Menkheperre received tribute from Retenu, Assyria and Babylon, occupied the whole of his 24th year, the 11th

of Nabopolassar (615 B.C.). The record for that year has already been reviewed. As Breasted notes, "this campaign seems to have been only a circuitous march through Palestine and southern Syria to receive the submission and tribute of the dynasts." (BAR IV 444)

The 3rd campaign, which occupied the king's 25th year (614 B.C.) was even more benign, so much so that the documentation for this year was inscribed elsewhere in the Theban temple. Apparently Piankhi's attention had turned to horticulture. We let Breasted explain.

> The Annals contain no account of the third campaign which was evidently a peaceful tour of inspection. The record of its results required more room than the wall of the Annals afforded, hence it was transferred to a chamber in the rear of the temple, and recorded in a long series of reliefs representing the flora and fauna of Syria, brought back from this campaign. BAR IV 450

These reliefs and inscriptions, found on the walls of a rear sanctuary of the temple, do provide some additional support for our contention that the 1st campaign ventured into the region of North Syria. In them Menkheperre expressly states that the biological specimens retrieved at this time originated from "Upper Retenu".

> Year 25, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, living forever. Plants which his majesty found in the land of Retenu. All plants that [grow], all flowers that are in God's Land [which were found by] his majesty when his majesty proceeded to Upper Retenu, to subdue [all] the countrie[s,] according to the command of his father, Amon ... BAR IV 451

The 4th Campaign.

The annals for the 4th campaign, which must have occupied some part of the years 26-28 of Menkheperre, are missing. According to Breasted "the account of this campaign, if any existed, is lost; it was not recorded on the wall of the Annals, and may have been put elsewhere, like the third." (BAR IV 453) It is only because the Annals continue without pause from the depiction of the 2nd campaign in the king's 24th year to a description of the 5th campaign in his 29th year, and because the 3rd campaign is registered to the 25th year, that we know a 4th campaign must have taken place in the stated interval. The silence is both intriguing and

foreboding. It is also most regrettable. The years 26-28 of Menkheperre must correspond, according to the revised chronology, to the years 613-611 B.C. on the Julian calendar. These are pivotal years in the history of the Ancient Near East.

When first we looked at the *Babylonian Chronicle* an Egyptian army was lending assistance to Assyria in driving back the advancing armies of Nabopolassar at Qablinu. The year was 616 B.C. The Chronicle makes no further mention of Egypt through the year 611 B.C. Only in 610 B.C. does Egypt again enter the picture. In the interval between 616 B.C. and 610 B.C. the *Chronicle* describes an alliance forged between Babylon and a northern neighbor referred to as the Umman-Manda, universally acknowledged to be the Median empire. In 614 B.C. the armies of the two nations combined to sack and pillage the city of Assur, and two years later laid siege to and destroyed Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian Empire. In the battle Sinshariskun, successor to Ashurbanipal, lost his kingdom and probably his life.

Following the loss of Nineveh and the death of Sinsharishkun in July/August of 612 B.C., the Assyrians withdrew to their last remaining sanctuary, the walled city of Harran on the Balikh River, near the western bend of the Euphrates. According to the Chronicle, at the end of the fourteenth year of Nabopolassar, thus early in 611 B.C., "Ashuruballit ... in the city of Harran sat on the throne as king of Assyria."

Throughout these crucial three years (614-612 B.C.), as Assur, then Nineveh fell victim to Media/Babylon, the Chronicle is silent concerning the activities of Egypt. The Annals for Menkheperre's years 26-28, which correspond to these same three years, might have filled this historical vacuum. Unfortunately they are missing. Apparently Menkheperre did not lend his army to assist his Assyrian ally, else the *Chronicle* would have made note of the fact. Assur and Nineveh are 300 miles distant from the bend of the Euphrates, already five hundred miles removed from Egypt. The threat was too remote, and the danger too great, to risk the Egyptian army. Menkheperre apparently kept his distance. But as we have noted elsewhere, in the opening chapter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the presence of Egypt in Syria did at least serve to delay the ultimate fall of Assyria. Media and Babylon did not immediately pursue their advantage by

continuing west to devastate the remnant army of Assuruballit, now resident in Harran. In that earlier book we argued that the delay is likely attributable to the proximity of Harran to Upper Retenu, which belonged to Egypt. The Egyptian army, assisting the fledgling king Assuruballit, was a threat to be reckoned with. Over two years would pass following the destruction of Nineveh, before Media and Babylon would attempt to take Harran and eliminate completely the Assyrian threat. That story is reserved for the next chapter.

Postscript

When we began our revision in the first book of this series we were concerned only with proving the historicity of the 565 B.C. invasion and destruction of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The solution turned out to be straightforward. The Saite dynasty needed to be moved forward in time by precisely 121 years, dragging behind it three other dynasties. We had no control over the consequences of this move, but we were encouraged to find that dynasties 22-26 fit perfectly in their new historical context, insofar as that context was investigated in our earlier book.. In particular we found a perfect match between the 6th year of Taharka and the 565 B.C. invasion. The reign of Taharka must have begun in 570 B.C. Of that fact we were entirely convinced. Working backward from that date we determined that the reign of Shabataka lasted from 585-570 B.C. and that Shabaka's dates were approximately 600-585 B.C. Those two date ranges were approximations only, as was the date 617 B.C. for the year 21 stele of Piankhi, the predecessor of Shabaka, an enigmatic figure regarded by Egyptologists as the patriarch of the 25th dynasty.

The reader needs to understand that we are not beginning anew in the present book. The dates mentioned in the preceding paragraph were supported by the detailed argument of eleven chapters of the earlier book. The fact that the 617 date for Piankhi's 21st year has needed to be moved back by only a single year (to 618 B.C.), and that, based on that date alone, were able to show in chapter two a remarkable series of correspondent elements between his assumed 23rd year, the Babylonian Chronicle for Napopolassar's 10th year, and the Karnak Annals for the

23rd year of Menkheperre Thutmose, is nothing short of remarkable. Such parallels do not come about by accident.

Chapter Three
The Last Days of the Assyrian Empire

610-609 B.C. - According to the Chronicle & the Hebrew Bible

Six years after the Qablinu incident of 616 B.C. the Babylonian Chronicle again mentions activity on the part of the Egyptian army. In 610 B.C., and again the following year, Egypt's presence near the western bend of the Euphrates is documented (see table 2).

Table 2: Nabopolassar years 15-19 (611-607 B.C.)
Wiseman's Summary of the Babylonian Chronicle

610	Nabopolassar 15/16	Babylonians march to Upper Euphrates. Army unopposed. Junction with Unnan-manda and march on Harran. ***Assur-uballit and Egyptian(?) army abandon city and retreat to Syria.*** Babylonians and Medes capture Harran. Nabopolassar leaves garrison and returns home.	Piankhi 28/29
609	Nabopolassar 16/17	Assur-uballit and Egyptian army advances on Harran. ***Assyro-Egyptian siege of Harran ended on approach of Nabopolassar.*** Babylonian operations in Izalla and up to Armenian border. Nabopolassar returns home.	Piankhi 29/30
608	Nabopolassar 17/18	Army called out. Expedition against Bit-Hanunia (Urartu). Nabopolassar returns to Babylon.	Piankhi 30/31
607	Nabopolassar 18/19	Nabopolassar with Crown-Prince (Nebuchadrezzar) leads armies to mountains. Nabopolassar returns. Nebuchadrezzar continues operations in Za.... Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon. Nabopolassar goes to Kimuhu (on Euphrates). Nabopolassar captures Kimuhu.	Piankhi 31/32

The first instance of renewed interaction between the armies of Egypt and Babylon is dated in the month of Marheshvan, October/November 610

B.C., mid-way through Nabopolassar's sixteenth year. Nineveh had fallen to the combined armies of Media and Babylon in the month of Abu (July/August) of 612 B.C.., an event which resulted in the death of Sinsharishkun and the ascendancy of Ashuruballit. Now, over two years later, the Medians and the Babylonians again "united their armies and to the city of Harran [after] Ashur-[uball]it who sat upon the throne in Assyria they marched." (lines 59-61a). An Egyptian army, or a contingent thereof in league with Ashuruballit, awaited their arrival. It was quickly evident to the defenders of Harran that theirs was a lost cause. The combined armies of Egypt and Assyria were vastly outnumbered. They quickly abandoned the city and fled westward, seeking sanctuary west of the Euphrates. Apparently the city fell without a fight. In the words of Wiseman, who summarizes the relevant sections of the Chronicle:

> The approach of the combined armies was sufficiently impressive to cause Ashuruballit and the Egyptian troops who had come to his aid to withdraw west of the Euphrates, so allowing Nabopolassar and his supporters to move in and plunder the undefended city. ... A Babylonian garrison was established in Harran to take the first shock of any counter-attack by the Egyptian-Assyrian forces, and the Babylonians and the Umman-manda then withdrew to their respective countries.[33]

This was not the end of the matter. Ashuruballit, noting the departure of the main forces of Media and Babylon, planned to retake his city. But for this renewed warfare he had first to wait for the arrival of further contingents of the Egyptian army Finally, in the seventeenth year of Nabopolassar, in the month of Tammuz (June/July 609 B.C.), the remnant of his Assyrian army, fortified by the arrival of "a great Egyptian army ...crossed the river (and) marched against the city of Harran to conquer it." (line 67). They were unsuccessful.

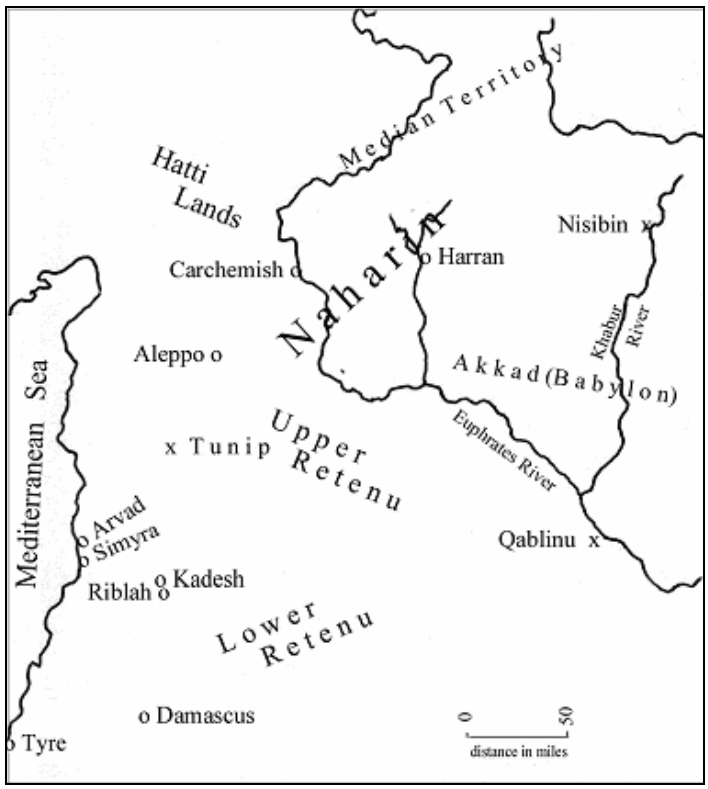
The Median/Babylonian garrison withstood the counter-siege of Harran long enough for Nabopolassar to march to its relief. Though critical parts of the Chronicle text are "broken and uncertain", sufficient is preserved to determine that the attack was repulsed. For several years following 609 B.C. there is no further mention of the Egyptian army by the Chronicler. Ashuruballit is never heard from again and may have

[33] D.J. Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (1955) 18-19

died in the attempt to recapture his city. The famed and much feared Assyrian empire ceased to exist, its lands divided as spoil among the two conquerors. When the Chronicle continues the historical record on another tablet (BM 22047), with discussion related to the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar, the king of Akkad has turned his attention to Urartu at the headwaters of the Tigris River.

Following 609 B.C. the map of the Ancient Near East to the east of the Euphrates changes dramatically. Media and Babylon now share the lands formerly held by Assyria. It is not known precisely how these lands were divided between the two allies, but the map below suggests a possible, if not probable, territorial distribution. We will return momentarily to discuss this altered geography.

Figure 6: The Bend of the Euphrates immediately following the fall of Harran in 609 B.C.



Identity of the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho

When we documented the last days of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the early pages of *Nebuchadrezzar & the Egyptian Exile* we briefly enquired as to the identity of the Egyptian pharaoh whose army assisted Ashuruballit in defense of his empire and whose military strength was sufficient to dissuade two great empires from immediately following up on the victory at Nineveh. We are not told his name in the Babylonian Chronicle. For this information we were dependent on Jewish historians.

Modern historians have supplied the name of the Egyptian ally of Ashuruballit, and have added detail to the story of the counter-siege of Harran, thanks to Jewish archivists who document in the Hebrew Bible a particularly relevant incident. The counterattack by Ashuruballit and the "great Egyptian army" which had arrived to assist him took place, according to the evidence of the Chronicle, in the two month period between Tammuz (June/July) and Elul (August/September) of 609 B.C. (the 17th year of Nabopolassar). In that same year, according to Jewish historians, Josiah king of Judah had an unfortunate and fatal encounter with an Egyptian army moving northward from Egypt along the Mediterranean coast.

> While Josiah was king, ***Pharaoh Neco king of Egypt went up to the Euphrates River to help the king of Assyria***. King Josiah marched out to meet him in battle, but Neco faced him and killed him at Megiddo. (2 Kings 23:29)[34] (italics added)

Pharoah Necho was in a hurry when Josiah encountered him on the coastal plain.

> But Neco sent messengers to him, saying, "What quarrel is there between you and me, O king of Judah? It is not you I am attacking at this time, but the house with which I am at war. God has told me to hurry; so stop opposing God, who is with me ... (2 Chron. 35:21)

The temporary delay at Megiddo had little bearing on subsequent events. The Egyptian king was on his way to join Ashuruballit as the Assyrian king prepared to retake Harran. We have already noted how the attempt

[34]All quotations from the Hebrew Bible, the Christian Old Testament, are taken from the New International Version (1973) unless otherwise stated.

was aborted within two months of engagement due to the arrival of the Babylonian army. The details are obscured in the damaged section of the Chronicle.

With some certainty we can date the Megiddo incident and Josiah's death to July, 609 B.C.. Three months later, following the failed attempt to retake Harran, Necho returned to his base of operations at Riblah, near Kadesh in central Syria. From there he sent a delegation to Judea where he deposed Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, who had assumed the kingship of Judah at his father's death. Jehoahaz was transported to Riblah, and shortly thereafter was taken to Egypt by Neco. In his stead "the king of Egypt made Eliakim, a brother of Jehoahaz, king over Judah and changed Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim. (2 Chron. 36:4)

It is clear from the Josiah episode, as described by Jewish historians, that the pharaoh who assisted Ashuruballit in Harran was named *Necho* - not *Piankhi*, and not *Menkheperre,* as we claim. In the traditional history this Necho is identified as *Wahemibre Necao*, the second king of the Saïte dynasty, who ruled Egypt for sixteen years from 610-595 B.C. The time is right. The name is right. The identification is considered axiomatic by scholars and serves as one of the primary confirmations of the reliability of the current Egyptian chronology. But that identification was challenged in the first book of this series, which demonstrated that Wahemibre Necao, the successor of Psamtik I, was not the pharaoh Necho named by the Jewish historians. It was argued instead that Wahemibre was the leader of the Egyptian rebellion against Darius II in 487- 484 B.C., at a time when that Persian monarch was preparing to escalate his war against Greece following the aborted battle of Marathon. The reader can follow the argument in chapter eight of the earlier book. We simply point out here, for the sake of the reader unfamiliar with the previous argument, that there exists absolutely no corroborative evidence supporting the identification Necho = Wahemibre Necao. The identification rests entirely on the correspondence in date of the biblical Necho and the Saite dynasty Necao. And that correspondence in date was challenged by the entire book length argument of *Nebuchadnezzar and the Egyptian Exile*.

In the revised chronology it is Piankhi, not Wahemibre Necao, who ruled

Egypt in 609 B.C.. It follows that Necho and Piankhi must be one and the same person. But then how do we explain the difference in name? Several explanations are possible. On the one hand we suggest that Necho is simply another of Piankhi's names. On the other we argue that the Jewish scribes in the passages in question are not providing us with a king's name, but with a nickname, a pejorative epithet created for the occasion. A few remarks on each of these proposals seems to be in order and must be deemed sufficient.

Necho = Menkheperre Necao

The name Menkheperre is unusual. In spite of the fact that the name was borne by the author of the Karnak Annals, identified by historians as the 18th dynasty king Thutmose III, reputedly the most successful military figure in all of Egyptian history, it was not adopted by any of his immediate successors.[35] In addition to Piankhi, only three post 18th dynasty kings, all interesting in their own right, borrowed the name. One is the obscure Menkheperre, successor of Pinudjem I in the Theban branch of the 21st dynasty, whose other cartouche name is unknown. A second is Shabataka, relative and successor of Piankhi, twice removed. The third is an enigmatic figure named Menkheperre Necao, assigned by scholars to the time of the Assyrian occupation of Egypt. The latter is known from a single monument, a glazed statue of Horus, which contains nothing more than the king's cartouche names.[36]

This Menkheperre Necao is typically identified as the father of Psamtik I, the founder of the 26th dynasty, a conclusion based entirely on a genealogical entry provided by Manetho, who states that the father of Psamtik was named Nechao. But the family connection is not confirmed from the monuments. A king Necao, father of Psamtik, is otherwise unattested in Egypt. Some support for the identification is said to be provided from the statue itself, which bears certain characteristic features of 25th dynasty sculpture, thus dating it to the time of Psamtik's immediate ancestors. But *we* argue that this same evidence argues for

[35]Unless we include Menkheperure Thutmose IV whose prenomen varies only slightly from that of his (assumed) grandfather Thutmose III.
[36]Petrie, *Scarabs & Cylinders with Names*, pl. 54:25,5, I., cf. TIP 117.

the fact that Menkheperre Necao is a 25th dynasty king, not a 26th dynasty patriarch. And since we have already established that Piankhi used the prenomen Menkheperre, and was ambivalent about his nomen, it follows that *he* is probably the king who commissioned the Horus statue.

With the dates of the dynasties lowered by 121 years, this 25th dynasty Menkheperre Necao must have ruled Egypt in the late 7th century, precisely where we have located Piankhi. It is the time of the Josiah debacle. The time is right. The name is right. If traditionalist historians can base their conclusions solely on a chronological synchronism, there should be no argument if the revised history claims the same privilege. We argue therefore that Necho = Menkheperre Necao = Menkheperre Piankhi.[37]

An alternative explanation is provided by Jewish oral tradition which claims that the king who took the life of Josiah, and deposed his successor Jehoahaz, was not in fact named Necho. It is argued that the authors of the biblical text, when documenting the events of 609 B.C., substituted for the name of the Egyptian pharaoh a derogatory epithet (Necho) based on a Hebrew word meaning "stricken/smitten". According to Allan Ginsburg, the eminent Jewish Talmudist, the consonants nkh, one of the two spellings of Neco's name employed by the Jewish scribes, was intended to be translated "the lame one", a sarcastic reference to some physical defect in the hated Egyptian pharoah. The tradition is well documented.

[37]There exists the possibility, not discussed in this book, that the pharaoh Necho referred to in the Hebrew Bible is not Menkheperre Piankhi, but a delta kinglet, successor to one of those mentioned on the great Piankhi stela. He might, for instance, be a son of Peftjuaawybast. Certainly these kings would have been required to assist Piankhi in his Asian adventures just as they earlier assisted Tefnakht in opposing him. And one or more of them may have led a contingent of the Egyptian army sent to assist Ashuruballit. In support of this possibility we note that the Egyptian army at this time in history consisted of multiple contingents, distinguished in part on the basis of ethnicity. In referring to a battle which took place only four years later than the Josiah incident, one in which pharaoh Necho also participated, the Jewish historians note the presence of helmeted troops with large and small shields, mounted cavalry and charioteers, and warriors - "men of Cush (Nubia) and Put (Libya) who carry shields, men of Lydia who draw the bow" Jer. 46: 9. Not all these troop contingents need be dispatched at one time and certainly not all would be led by Piankhi who, as we have seen in the case of the invasion of the delta, was not averse to dispatching an army under secondary leadership.

> The interpretation of Neco, the name of the Egyptian king, as though it were nkh "lame" is often found in Jewish and Christian writings; comp. Megillah 3a; Mo'ed Katan 28b; Targum Zech. 12.11, and 2 Chron 35:20; Peshitta on 2 Kings 23:29; Aphraates, 471. Legends of the Jews VI n. 123

Ginsburg states elsewhere that "this etymology of the name Necho, connecting it with Hebrew *nkh regolim* "lame", is very old.[38]

It is impossible to determine at this late date precisely what was intended by authors writing twenty-six hundred years ago.[39] But we do not have to choose between the two possibilities. Both may be correct. We know that many, if not all Egyptian pharaohs had multiple popular names distinct from their titulary names. And we know that Piankhi included multiple variations of his titulary names. It should surprise no-one that he was known to his contemporaries by some Egyptian (or Nubian) title (or name), perhaps Necao, perhaps some homonym, which sounded to a foreign ear like the Hebrew word for "lame". Further speculation is baseless. In the final analysis it is the comparison of the Chronicle and the Annals of Menkheperre for the years 610-609 B.C. which ultimately convinces us that pharaoh Necho is Piankhi.

As we turn our attention to the Annals we looks for parallels to the two incidents recorded in the Chronicle, the loss of Harran by the combined armies of Assyria and Egypt in 610 B.C. and the failed counter-assault on Harran in 609 B.C. The first of these, the flight from Harran at the approach of the Median/Babylonian armies took place in the 8th month of Nabopolassar's16th year, thus the 29th of Piankhi. The counterattack on Harran took place late in the fourth month of Nabopolassar's 17th year, the 30th of Piankhi. These dates correspond to the 5th and 6th campaigns of Menkheperre,. We expect to find, therefore, that on these campaigns the army of Menkheperre was in the vicinity of the Upper Euphrates. There should be some indication, particularly in relation to the 6th campaign (where we know that a portion of his army actually engaged in battle), that the Egyptians actually fought with an enemy near Carchemish. Piankhi may be reluctant to document the two encounters

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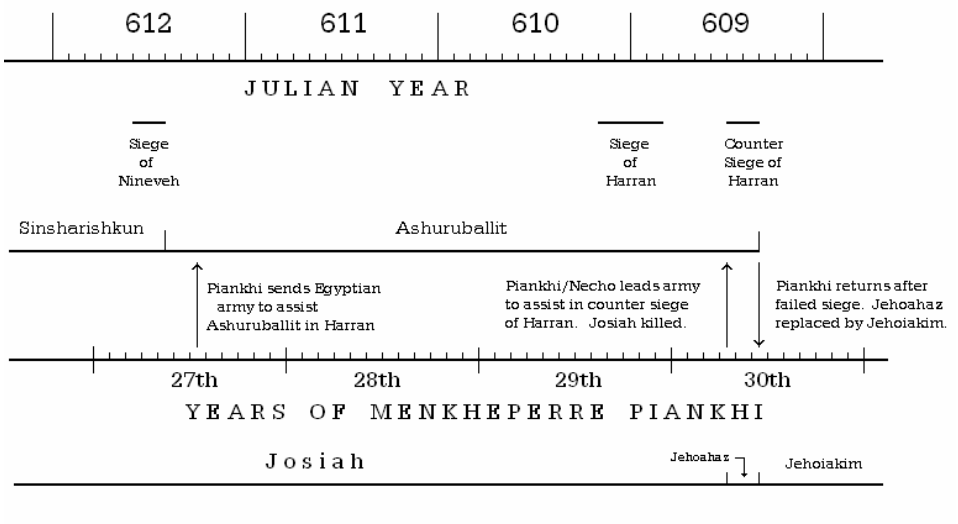
[38]Ginsburg, *Legends of the Jews* IV n. 71).

[39]The evidence seems to favor the fact that the king's name was, in fact, Necao. One group of scribes state that the name of the Egyptian king was Nakah (nkh 2 Chr. 35:22; 36:4; 2 Kings 23:29,33,34,35) while others say Nako (nkw 2 Chr. 35:20; Jer. 46:2), suggestive of the fact that the name terminated with both sounds. The Septuagint translates pharao Nechao.

with the Medians and the Babylonians - after all, he lost both contests - but his presence in the region should be transparent. To assist the reader in following the argument we reproduce from *Nebuchadnezzar* a timeline[40] (see figure 7 below) summarizing the sequence of events described above. We make only one change. Rather than listing the Saite dynasty kings as the allies of Assyria, as we did in the earlier volume, we name Piankhi in their place. The regnal years assigned to Piankhi in figure 7 follow consistently from our earlier argument, where we (apparently correctly) identified his 23rd year as 616 B.C.[41]

Figure 7: Timeline of events in the last days of Assyria on the assumption that the Egyptian king assisting Assyria was Piankhi.



The argument in the following pages has but one purpose, namely, to show that the activities of Menkheperre Thutmose, as described in the Annals for his 29th and 30th years, parallel the actions assigned to Piankhi in the above timeline for those same years.

[40]Cf. *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, figure 3, page 7.
[41]Cf. figure 4 on page 27.

For reference purposes only, we reproduce below (table 3) the Babylonian Chronicle and Hebrew Bible references for those two years

Table 3: Chronology of the 16th-17th years of Nabopolassar // 29th-30th years of Menkheperre according to the Babylonian Chronicle and the Hebrew Bible

Nabopolassar 16th Menkheppere Piankhi 29th	Mar/April 610	
	Apr/May 610	
	May/June 610	
	June/July 610	
	July/Aug 610	
	Aug/Sept 610	
	Sept/Oct 610	
	Oct/Nov 610	Medes and Babylonian army advance on Harran Egypt & Assyria flee west of Euphrates. Babylonians and Medians occupy Harran.
	Nov/Dec 610	
	Dec 610/Jan 609	
	Jan/Feb 609	Babylonian & Median armies leave Harran. Garrison remains.
	Feb/Mar 609	
Nabopolassar 17th Menkheppere Piankhi 30th	Mar/April 609	Ashuruballit waits for Egyptian aid before attempting to retake Harran.
	Apr/May 609	
	May/June 609	
	June/July 609	Neco en route to Damascus. Josiah killed. Counter-siege of Harran begins.
	July/Aug 609	Siege of Harran continues.
	Aug/Sept 609	Final assault on Harran repulsed. Babylonian army arrives to relieve garrison.
	Sept/Oct 609	Neco at Riblah, in vicinity of Kadesh. Jehoahaz deposed & brought to Riblah.
	Oct/Nov 609	Menkheperre (Neco) returns to Egypt taking Jehoahaz as captive.
	Nov/Dec 609	
	Dec 609/Jan 608	
	Jan/Feb 608	
	Feb/Mar 608	

Menkheperre's 5th & 6th Campaigns

According to Breasted, commenting on the 5th campaign of Menkheppere:

> The first campaign extended no farther northward than the Tripolis of the southern Lebanon, and this was inland. The second and third campaigns were not aggressive, and apparently did not push far north; the record of the fourth campaign is lost, and it is not until the fifth, in the year 29, that we have certain information of an advance beyond the northern limits of the first campaign, and along the coast. This fifth campaign begins with a new caption, as if a new period of the wars had begun here, and it is clear that the revolt suppressed in the south in the year 23 was after six years not yet subdued in the cities of Zahi which the king had not yet visited. The wars in the Annals are thus divided into two great groups, the first group being in the south, and the second group, beginning in the year 29, being the wars in the north. BAR II 454

We have already argued that Breasted is mistaken concerning the northern extension of the 1st campaign. We can therefore safely disregard the opening lines of his commentary. But he correctly notes the increased presence of Egypt in the north of Syria beginning in the year 610 B.C. That fact alone is significant since this increased presence is demanded by the testimony of the Chronicle and the Hebrew Bible.

It is clear from the Annals that Menkheperre, on his 5th campaign, extended his influence at least as far north as Tunip, not far from Carchemish. Also for the first time he moved to control the coastal lands west of the Orontes, a territory known to the Egyptians as Zahi. As Breasted correctly notes, this campaign marks a distinct phase in the expansionist policy of the Egyptian king. And as he had done years before, in the midst of his battle with Tefnakht, Piankhi pauses in the midst of his north Syrian campaign to acknowledge the role played by the god Amun.

> His majesty commanded to cause that the victories which his father [Amon] had given him should be recorded upon the stone wall in the temple which his majesty made anew [for his father Amon, setting forth each expedition by its name, together with the plunder which his majesty brought therefrom. It was done according to [all the command which his father, Re, gave to him] - -
> Year 29. Behold, [his] majesty was [in Za]hi subduing the countries revolting against him, on the fifth victorious campaign.
> Behold, his majesty captured the city of Wa - (*W3* -) - - -. This army offered

> acclamations to his majesty, giving praise to [Amon] for the victories which [he gave to] his son. They were pleasing to the heart of his majesty above everything.
> After this his majesty proceeded to the storehouse of offering[s], to give a sacrifice to Amon and to Harakhte consisting of oxen, calves, fowl, [for the life, prosperity, and health of Menkheperre, who giveth life forever.
> List of plunder taken out of this city, from the infantry of that foe of Tunip (*Tw-np*), the chief of this city, 1; (*T-h-r-*) warriors, 329, silver, 100 deben, gold, 100 deben, lapis lazuli, malachite, vessels of bronze and copper.
> Behold ships were taken - - - laden with everything, with slaves, male and female, ... everything good. Afterward his majesty proceeded southward to Egypt, to his father Amon-Re, with joy of heart. BAR II 456-460

Although line 460 of the Annals notes the departure of Piankhi for Egypt, the narrative goes on to describe the siege and capture of Arvad, as if Piankhi were present. Either events are out of order, or a portion of the army continued the campaign in the absence of the king. We prefer the latter interpretation. The annals are careful elsewhere to preserve the order of events - why not here?

> Behold, his majesty overthrew the city of Arvad (*ȝ-rȝ-ty-wt*), with its grain, cutting down all its pleasant trees. Behold, there were found [the products] of all Zahi. Their gardens were filled with their fruit, their wines were found remaining in their presses as water flows, their grain on the terraces [upon - -}; it was more plentiful than the sand of the shore. The army were overwhelmed with their portions.
> List of tribute brought to his majesty on this expedition: 51 slaves, male and female; 30 horses; 10 flat dishes of silver; incense, oil, 470 (mn-) jars of honey, 6,428 (mn-) jars of wine, copper, lead, lapis lazuli, green felspar, 616 large cattle, 3,636 small cattle, loaves, various (jfr.t-) loaves, clean grain in kernel and ground ----. All good fruit of this country. Behold, the army of his majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt. BAR II 461-62

We are encouraged to find that Piankhi's armies are in the vicinity of the Euphrates during this 5th campaign. Tunip lies less than 100 miles from the great River, approximately 150 miles from Carchemish and therefore less than 200 miles from Harran. But there appears to be no place in the narrative in which to insert our hypothetical journey to Harran in support of Assyria. How do we harmonize the Annals and the Chronicle? The answer is not far off.

We are not informed in the annals precisely when during Piankhi's 29th year his conquests in Upper Retenu took place. We suspect it was during

the summer and early fall of the year, prior to the arrival at Harran of the combined armies of Babylon and Media. Our suspicion is confirmed by details included with the description of the overthrow of Arvad. The wine harvest has begun. Grain is more plentiful than sand on the shore. It is autumn, probably September/October. The siege of Harran began in October/November (see figure 7 & table 3). If, as we suspect, the conquest of Arvad took place after Piankhi concluded his 5th campaign and returned to Egypt, then he likely left Zahi several weeks before the arrival of the Median and Babylonian armies. Perhaps his departure was the signal for the combined armies to begin their siege of Harran.

It seems clear from the text that when Piankhi left for Egypt a portion of his army was left behind to secure the coastal area (thus the assault on Arvad). We surmise that other troops were sent to assist Ashuruballit at Harran. The Assyrians remained the lone buffer state between Piankhi and Babylon. Assisting Ashuruballit was in the best interests of Egypt.[42]

The lack of any record of the humiliating retreat from Harran is disappointing, but not surprising. In the first place Piankhi was absent from the event. His 5th campaign was officially over and he had returned to Egypt. And secondly, it was a non-event. There was no battle. His troops, along with those of Ashuruballit, vacated Harran without contesting the take over of the city. But even if the retreat were viewed as a military defeat we would not anticipate any mention of the event. Piankhi expressly stated, in the introductory lines to this section of his annals, that these inscriptions were intended to record his successes, not his losses. He declared forthrightly: "His majesty commanded to cause that *the victories* which his father [Amun] had given him should be recorded ". In view of this expressed intention we should expect no substantial record of any defeats. As we will see in the records for subsequent years, Piankhi was loathe to blame Amun for any losses. Other dignitaries might mention them, but not Piankhi, whose devotion to the god was obsessive.

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[42]We assume throughout this entire argument that a) Egypt did lend troops to assist Ashuruballit in 610 B.C. and b) that this assistance was marginal. But we are mindful of the fact that the reference to Egypt in line 61 of the Chronicle is questionable. Wiseman's translation clearly indicates doubt concerning the reading: "As for Assur-uballit and the army of Eg[ypt(?)] which had come [to his help,] fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city and ..... crossed [the river Euphrates].

The occupation of Harran by the Babylonian army lasted four months, extending into the following year. In the month Adar (Feb/Mar 609 B.C.) the army of Nabopolassar returned to Babylon, leaving only a garrison of troops to occupy and defend the city. It was the end of the 16th year of Nabopolassar, the 29th year of Menkheperre Piankhi.

The 6th Campaign

The Piankhi annals for his 6th campaign are brief. In them we hope to find record of his attempt to assist his homeless Assyrian ally to regain his city. But we remain mindful that Piankhi does not like to publicize his losses. And at Harran he sustained a resounding defeat. This time his army actually engaged in battle. The loss cannot be rationalized.

According to the Annals:

> Year 30. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the sixth victorious expedition of his majesty.
> (He) arrived at the city of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), overthrew it, cut down its groves, harvested its grain. (He) came to the land of *Š-y-wt*, arrived at the city of Simyra (*Ḏ3-my-r3*), arrived at the city of Arvad (*3-r3-ṯ-wt*), doing likewise to it.
> List of the tribute brought to the souls of his majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year.
> Behold, *the children of the chiefs (and) their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt. Now, whosoever died among these chiefs, his majesty would cause his son to stand in his place*. List of the children of chiefs brought in this year: (x+)2 persons; 181 slaves, male and female; 188 horses; 40 chariots, wrought with gold and silver (and) painted. BAR II 464-67 (italics added)

As we read this description of the 6th campaign we are encouraged to find Piankhi in the vicinity of Kadesh, precisely where he had to be if the Jewish scribes have correctly recorded the sequence of events (Riblah lies about 8 miles south of Kadesh). But where is the reference to a battle with the Medes and the Babylonians in the vicinity of Harran? Even if Piankhi has deliberately ignored the humiliating defeat, there appears to be no room in his military timetable in which to insert a trans-Euphrates battle? In fact, the sequence of military actions seems to be moving from central Syria toward the Mediterranean coast, not eastward toward the Euphrates. What is the explanation? The answer to our dilemma can

be found in a closer examination of the text of the Annals.

The counter-siege of Harran took place in the summer. Early in July Necho was on the move to assist Assyria. The combined Egyptian and Assyrian armies surrounded Harran from the month Tammuz (June/July) to the month Elul (Aug/Sept) at which time Nabopolassar responded, sending the main force of the Babylonian army. The Assyrian/Egyptian coalition abandoned their assault. The details thus far are supplied by the text of the Chronicle. At this point the Annals appear to take up the story. Following his loss at Harran Piankhi apparently retreated to the relative safety of Upper Retenu, where he was obliged to put down a rebellion initiated by his nemesis, the prince of Kadesh. In this endeavor he was successful, and Piankhi, accordingly, begins the Annals for his 6th campaign at this point. When viewed in this light we understand why the action begins in central Syria, moves to Simyra and Arvad on the Mediterranean coast, and then back to Egypt.

The Annals, read carelessly, have left scholars with the impression that Piankhi's 6th campaign began with the siege of Kadesh. That is clearly not true. The siege of Kadesh took place in the fall. The groves are ripe; the grain is ready for harvest. Piankhi's campaigns typically began in late winter or very early in the spring. Where was Piankhi during the summer of 609 B.C.? We know the answer, even if the Egyptian king is reluctant to acknowledge the fact.

Breasted was not the first to misinterpret the Annals for the 6th campaign, but he is representative. For the record we reproduce his comments:

> This year the expedition went by water and landed at Simyra, the most convenient port for reaching Kadesh. This city had been the leader in the great coalition of revolters, defeated at Megiddo in the first campaign seven years before. It was doubtless also constantly supporting revolt in the Phoenician coast cities, as Tunip had done in the preceding year (29) causing the king to direct his forces thither in that year. Finally in the year 30 the king succeeded in reaching the source of the disturbance, capturing and severely punishing Kadesh***, a feat in which Amenemhab assisted***. He returned to his fleet at Simyra, proceeded to Arvad and punished it as in the preceding year. *On his return to Egypt he took with him the children of the native princes* to be educated in friendship toward Egypt, that they might be sent back gradually to replace the old hostile generation of Syrian princes. BAR II 463 (italics added)

Breasted has totally missed the point when he states that Menkheperre and his army arrived at Simyra by ship. There is absolutely no basis for this claim, nor for the underlying assumption that the Egyptian king possessed a fleet of ships of sufficient size and number to transport an army. But the famed Egyptologist was hard pressed to explain why the annals begin with the Egyptian army on the outskirts of Kadesh and the city in rebellion. Without the historical context which guides our thinking we might make the same mistake.

By placing the 30th year of Menkheperre in its proper late 7th century context we can also improve on Breasted's remarks concerning the rebellion at Kadesh, by supplying the cause. Piankhi has just engaged in a losing battle at Harran. His nemesis, the prince of Kadesh, has apparently misinterpreted Piankhi's withdrawal from the region as a sign of weakness, and has chosen the moment to challenge Egyptian authority. This was a mistake. Piankhi had no resolve to risk his army defending a foreigner, albeit an ally, in a losing cause. But he was not weak. And he had no intentions of loosening his hold on Syria.

Our comments thus far are not mere speculation. There is inscriptional evidence supporting our interpretation of the sequence of events, namely, that Menkheperre's battle with Kadesh came on the heels of an encounter with the enemy across the Euphrates near Carchemish. Piankhi might not record his defeats, but several of his officers are not so reluctant. And as Breasted indicates in remarks quoted above, one of them, named Amenemheb, who assisted Menkheppere on this 6th campaign, lived to tell the tale.

The Memoirs of Amenemheb

Amenemheb, a wily and resourceful military officer, served Menkheperre through the course of his many campaigns, and nearing death had a summary account of several of the most memorable incidents of his long life engraved on the walls of his tomb in the necropolis of Thebes.[43] We shall have cause to return several times to Amenemheb's

[43]The inscriptions contained therein were first published by Ebers in 1873, ZAS ... (1873) 3-9

tomb to read his memoirs. For the time being we are content with an introduction to this dignitary, and with the opening lines of his tomb inscription. Breasted provides an English translation of what he describes as a "very important supplement to the Annals" but complains that it "does not insert the dates of the campaigns nor follow a chronological order". He is, of course, mistaken.

> The old soldier seems to have narrated to some scribe, who recorded them, the more important incidents and adventures of his career as they occurred to him, without attempt at order, beyond the involuntary association of events that belong to the same campaign. BAR II 574

We disagree strongly with these remarks. The narrative does follow a chronological order, as we might have expected.[44] The problem for Breasted, and for the entire community of Egyptologists which follow him, is that Amenemheb's inscription begins with a description of a campaign that reached the Euphrates (Naharin). And as we have explained at some length, scholars are of the opinion that the Euphrates was not reached until much later, the 8th campaign to be specific. It is important that we read Amenemheb's remarks for ourselves.

> The officer, Amenemhab; he says;
> I was the very faithful one of the sovereign, L.P.H., the wise-hearted of the King of Upper Egypt, the excellent-hearted of the King of Lower Egypt. I followed my lord on his expeditions in the northern and southern country. He desired that I should be the companion of his feet, while he was upon the battlefield of his victories, while his valor fortified the heart.
> I fought hand to hand in the land of Negeb (N-g-bA). I brought off three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners.
> When his majesty came to Naharin (N-h-r-n) I brought off three men from the fight there; I set them before thy majesty as living prisoners. BAR II 579-81

There is no problem for the revised history, as there is for the traditional history, in the fact that Amenemheb begins his memoirs with reminiscences about a battle in the Negeb followed immediately by an

[44]Detailed tomb inscriptions, such as those of Amenemheb, were very carefully planned and laid out. They were not the product of some hasty interview with a scribe, as Breasted claims. When Breasted claims that Amenemheb randomly narrated "to some scribe, who recorded them, the more important incidents and adventures of his career as they occurred to him" he is merely stating the only possibility open to the traditional history, however remote, since the narrative of this dignitary seriously contradicts that history's understanding of the Menkheperre Annals.

excursion to the Euphrates region (Naharin). Where else to begin his story than with an account of the first and most successful year of his military life, the illustrious 1st campaign of Menkheperre.. The second to last line in his introductory remarks clearly refers to his participation in the battle of Megiddo in the land of the Negeb, and the concluding line confirms our suspicion that the army reached Naharin that same year. Any other interpretation is strained. The Negeb, Breasted agrees, is "clearly the Hebrew Negeb = "the south country"[45], a term which, though loosely defined, is typically descriptive of southern Palestine, including areas as far north as Megiddo. Naharin is the typical Egyptian designation of the Euphrates region. There is no ambiguity in Amenemheb's inscription. It is only because his remarks conflict with the established history that scholars are compelled to suggest that he is speaking out of turn.

Breasted, who is typical of the consensus scholarly opinion, considers the reference to a battle in the Negeb as a reference to Menkheppere's later skirmish with the Shasu, a tribal group which occupied the Gaza region at sundry times in the late Egyptian period. The Shasu, he notes, were encountered by Menkheperre on his 14th campaign. Therefore Amenemheb cannot be following any chronological order.

We wonder why Amenemheb would begin his annals with the inconsequential Shasu incident, which, as we will soon see, deserved only a passing mention in the Annals, and why he would neglect to mention entirely the battle of Megiddo, by far the most significant incident in the illustrious career of Menkheperre. The battle of Megiddo was the dominant event in the 1st campaign. We expect it to be mentioned first. And the reference to Naharin immediately following agrees precisely with the substance of our argument in the previous chapter, that the Egyptian king, or at least his army, reached the Euphrates in his first campaign of victory. The first two lines, read in the most reasonable manner, describe the events of the year 616 B.C. precisely as we have described them. At least in this instance Amenemheb is not speaking out of order. We expect therefore that he will continue to detail the events of his life sequentially, and that the inscription following will document the next great Egyptian excursion into the north of Syria, the sequence of

[45]Footnote (a) BAR II p. 231.

battles which took place on the 5th and 6th campaigns in the years 610 and 609 B.C. The memoirs continue:

> Again I fought hand to hand (on) that expedition in the land of 'The-Height-of-Wan' (*W-ꜥ-n*) on the west of Aleppo (*Ḫ3-r3-bw*). I brought off 13 Asiatics as living prisoners, 13 men; 70 living asses; 13 bronze [spears]; the bronze was wrought with gold —."
> Again I fought (on) that expedition in the land of Carchemish (*K3-ry-k3-my-ꜥ-š3*). I brought off — — as living prisoners. I crossed over the water of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), while they were in my hand, to — —; I [set] them before my lord. He rewarded me with a great reward; list thereof: — —.
> I behold the royal victories of the King Menkheperre, given life, in the country of Senzar (*šn-ḏ3-r3*), when he made a [great] sl[aughter] [among] them. I fought hand to hand before the king, I brought off a hand there. He gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: — — two silver rings.
> Again I beheld his bravery, while I was among his followers. [He] captures [the city of] Kadesh (*Kd-šw*); I was not absent from the place where he was; I brought off two men, lords (*m-r3-y-n3*) as [living prisoners; I set them] before the king, the Lord of the Two Lands ... He gave to me gold because of bravery, before the whole people — — —; list thereof: of the finest gold: a lion; 2 necklaces, 2 flies, 4 arm rings. BAR II 582-85

Two expeditions are recorded in these four lines of text. The first (line 1) refers to a battle in the region west of Aleppo. This must be a reference to the 5th campaign (610 B.C.) tour of conquest which, according to the Annals, reached the city *W3-* (the name was obscured in the Annals) assisted by troops from Tunip. Likely the city lay between Tunip and Aleppo. This detail in Amenemheb's journal places the Egyptian armies less than a hundred miles from Harran, where, we argue, troops were dispatched to assist the threatened Assyrian garrison.

The second expedition, mentioned in lines 2-4, describes the 6th campaign (609 B.C.), a fact confirmed by the mention of the assault on Kadesh at its conclusion. Three distinct battles are recorded for this campaign. Only the third, the Kadesh incident, made its way into the Annals. The second battle must be viewed as an earlier phase of the assault on Kadesh and should not be distinguished from that incident. Sinzar is located no more than a days march north of Kadesh. An Egyptian army traveling from Carchemish to Kadesh would naturally pass through the country surrounding Sinzar. Apparently some skirmishes in that region preceded the assault on the town of Kadesh. Amenemheb distinguishes the Sinzar and Kadesh incidents for personal reasons.

Our attention is focused on the first of the three battles recorded by Amenemheb for this year, one which was fought in the "land of Carchemish". In the context of the revised chronology this must refer to Piankhi's loss to the Babylonian and Median armies at Harran. Although we find no specific mention of Harran, reference is clearly made to a crossing of the Euphrates, which implies a destination distinct from the city of Carchemish. Apparently the designation "land of Carchemish" was a regional term which included the former Assyrian stronghold. Support for this claim is forthcoming from the text of the Hebrew Bible. We recall that Necho, en route to Harran in support of Ashuruballit, in his brief dialogue with Josiah prior to the death of the Judean king, specified Carchemish as his destination.

> After all this, when Josiah had set the temple in order, Neco king of Egypt went up to fight at Carchemish on the Euphrates, and Josiah marched out to meet him in battle. (2 Chron 35:20)

It has often been supposed that the Jewish annalist made a mistake, supplying here the site name of a later battle (to be discussed in our next chapter). But there was no mistake. "At Charchemish" in the Hebrew text and "in the land of Carchemish" in Amenemheb's journal are apparently generic phrases for the lands immediately east of the Euphrates near Carchemish. Both sources are referring to the same event. And it is clear from Amenemheb's comments that there was no great victory here. The Egyptian officer managed to capture a few enemy troops, which he returned to Menkheppere, and for this he was rewarded. Thus the mention of the incident in his tomb. But there was no victory for Egypt and no list of the spoils of victory in the Annals. The army soon retreated to the safety of the Orontes River Valley.

A Synthesis: The Sources Combined

The timetable reproduced below in table 4 summarizes the chronology of the years 610-609 B.C. argued in the preceding pages. We have simply duplicated the earlier timetable (table 3, p. 63), which summarized information provided by the Babylonian Chronicle and Hebrew Bible, and added the new information supplied by the Annals and by Amenemheb. This new information is distinguished from the earlier data

by its inclusion solely in capital letters.

Table 4: Chronology of the 16th&17th years of Nabopolassar // 29th-30th years of Menkheperre according to the Babylonian Chronicle, the Hebrew Bible, and the ANNALS OF MENKHEPERRE.

Nabopolassar 16th Menkheppere Piankhi 29th	Mar/April 610	
	Apr/May 610	
	May/June 610	
	June/July 610	
	July/Aug 610	EGYPTIAN ASSAULT ON *W3*- IN VICINITY OF TUNIP & ALEPPO. CAPTURE OF ARVAD.
	Aug/Sept 610	MENKHEPPERE RETURNS TO EGYPT. Troops left to assist Assyria.
	Sept/Oct 610	
	Oct/Nov 610	Medes & Babylonian army advance on Harran. Egypt & Assyria flee west of Euphrates. Babylon & Media occupy Harran.
	Nov/Dec 610	
	Dec 610/Jan 609	
	Jan/Feb 609	
	Feb/Mar 609	Babylonian & Median armies leave Harran. Garrison remains.
Nabopolassar 17th Menkheppere Piankhi 30th	Mar/April 609	Ashuruballit waits for Egyptian aid before attempting to retake Harran.
	Apr/May 609	
	May/June 609	
	June/July 609	Neco en route to Carchemish. Josiah killed. Counter-siege of Harran begins.
	July/Aug 609	Siege of Harran continues
	Aug/Sept 609	Final assault on Harran repulsed. Babylonian army arrives to relieve garrison. . Egypt leaves & returns to Retenu.
	Sept/Oct 609	ASSAULT ON KADESH Neco at Riblah, in vicinity of Kadesh. Jehoahaz deposed & brought to Riblah.
	Oct/Nov 609	Menkheppere (Neco) returns to Egypt via Judea. Jehoahaz taken to Egypt.
	Nov/Dec 609	
	Dec 609/Jan 608	
	Jan/Feb 608	
	Feb/Mar 608	

The 7th Campaign.

The 7th campaign of Menkheperre/Piankhi, which occupied the year 608 B.C., was apparently restricted to the Mediterranean coast, where he

received tribute from his vassal princes. In spite of his recent setback at Harran, and the downfall of his Assyrian ally, Piankhi continued to command the allegiance of Upper Retenu. There is no indication in the Annals that his sovereignty over the lands west of the Euphrates was forfeited. The rebellions in Kadesh and Arvad, which had immediately followed Piankhi's losses in the vicinity of Harran, and were perhaps encouraged by the earlier defeats, had been put down. Syria remained under Egyptian control.

There is no further mention of Egypt in the Chronicle until the year 606/605 B.C., which corresponds to the 8th campaign of the Egyptian king. That campaign, and the two which follow on its heels, will occupy our attention throughout the next chapter. There remains for us to discuss here two neglected issues from the 6th campaign - the Mariannu and the Josiah succession. Both contribute marginally to our argument.

Mariannu & the Josiah Succession

The Mariannu

When Amenemheb mentions the siege of Kadesh in his discussion of the 6th campaign his attention is directed toward the honors he won. He personally captured "two men" whom he identifies as "lords (*m-rꜣ-y-nꜣ*)", for which he was duly rewarded. The term *mariannu* is Semitic. As recognized by Breasted in his translation, the Egyptian term here most likely represents the Aramaic word for "lord". But this raises a problem, not discussed by Breasted.

When Immanuel Velikovsky wrote *Peoples of the Sea*, his penultimate book in the *Ages in Chaos* series, he commented on the presence of this word in a text of Ramses III, supposedly written in the 12th century B.C. According to that inscription, Ramses is quoted as stating:

> I organized my frontier in Zahi, prepared before them (to whit) the princes, the commanders of the garrison, and the Mariannu.[46]

[46] Edgerton & Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*. (Quoted in Velikovsky, *Peoples of the Sea*, p. 62.)

From this reference Velikovsky derived a supporting argument for his thesis of a late date for Ramses III. He argued, correctly, that since a text authored by Ramses makes reference to a Phoenician noble bearing an Aramaic title, Ramses must postdate the introduction of the Aramaic language into Syria. We quote him on the subject:

> Who were these Mariannu, the only trustworthy allies of Egypt? At first it was suggested that Mariannu is the Aramaic word Mareinu, meaning "noblemen." But who could they have been, the foreign warriors in the Egypt of the twelfth century, called by an Aramaic name? Aramaic is a Semitic language that supplanted Hebrew in Palestine after the Babylonian exile, in which parts of the Books of Ezra and Daniel, and later the Talmuds, were written; at the beginning of the present era it was the everyday language of the Jews in Palestine. The oldest Aramaic inscriptions date from the ninth and eighth centuries.[47]

Velikovsky argues that Ramses III could not have lived and ruled in the 12th century and yet have had intercourse with post 9th/8th century Aramaean nobility. We can apply the same reasoning, *a fortiori*, to Menkheperre. The presence of *mariannu* in Upper Retenu during the 5th campaign of Menkheperre, is yet another reason for believing that Amenemhet, and the king he served, did not live in the 15th century B.C.

The Josiah Succession

We have several times quoted the Hebrew Bible in its references to the death of Josiah, the brief reign of his son and successor Jehoahaz, and the almost immediate replacement of Jehoahaz by Eliakim, another son of Josiah, all at the instigation of pharaoh Necho.

> Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old when he became king, and he reigned in Jerusalem three months. The king of Egypt dethroned him in Jerusalem and imposed on Judah a levy of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold. The king of Egypt made Eliakim, a brother of Jehoahaz king over Judah and Jerusalem and changed Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim. But Neco took Eliakim's brother Jehoahaz and carried him off to Egypt. 2 Chron. 36:2-4

From the book of 2 Kings we are further informed that "Pharaoh Necho put him in chains at Riblah in the land of Hamath" from which location

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[47] Immanuel Velikovsky, *Peoples of the Sea* (1977) 62, 63

he was deported to Egypt, and we are told furthermore, that Jehoahaz died in Egypt. (2 Kings 23:33,34)

It is absolutely clear that these actions were taken subsequent to the loss at Harran and immediately following the suppression of the rebellion at Kadesh. There can be no doubt, in view of what we know about the circumstances of the rebellion in Kadesh, that Jehoahaz had also decided that the time was right to declare independence from Egypt. His removal from office and deportment was the result. Jehoahaz had reigned only three months. It was September/October, 609 B.C.

At the identical moment in the Annals, i.e., immediately following the account of the successful siege of Kadesh, we find Menkheperre declaring as a *fait accompli* the identical dual actions among his subject princes, namely, the appointment of a successor for a subject king (chief) who has died, and the deposition to Egypt of his son. Can there be any doubt that he has Jehoahaz in mind?

> Year 30. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the sixth victorious expedition of his majesty.
> (He) arrived at the city of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), overthrew it, cut down its groves, harvested its grain. (He) came to the land of *Š-y-wt*, arrived at the city of Simyra (*D3-my-r3*), arrived at the city of Arvad (*3-r3-t-wt*), doing likewise to it.
> List of the tribute brought to the souls of his majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year.
> Behold, *the children of the chiefs (and) their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt. Now, whosoever died among these chiefs, his majesty would cause his son to stand in his place.* List of the children of chiefs brought in this year: (x+)2 persons; 181 slaves, male and female; 188 horses; 40 chariots, wrought with gold and silver (and) painted. BAR II 464-67 (italics added)

This remarkable coincidence of words and actions argues strongly for the identity of Menkheperre (Piankhi) and Necho. And there is yet another document which contributes to this argument.

The sandstone stela of Piankhi found by Reisner at Napata (already discussed in our second chapter), that which contains the first three titulary names of Thuthmose III, contains in lines 16-23 a remarkable speech in which Piankhi declares his absolute sovereignty over subject princes. We quote Reisner's translation.

> Speech of the Son of Ra, Lord of Crowns, ... He says
> Amon of Napata has given to me to be *ruler of every land.*
> *He to whom I say: You are king, he shall be king:*
> *He to whom I say: You are not king, he shall not be king.*
> Amon of Thebes has given to me to be ruler of Egypt (*km)*
> He to whom I say; make ceremonial appearance (as king),
> [he shall make ceremonial appearance (as king)]
> He to who I say: Do not make ceremonial appearance, he shall not make ceremonial appearance.
> Every one to whom I give my favor (face), his city can not be destroyed except it be by my hand.
> The gods make a king; the people make a king; but Amon made me.
> Whoever of these governors does not make gifts to me, Weret-Hekauw....[48]

This declaration of absolute sovereignty, the divine right of the pharaoh to install and depose kings of subject nations, is unique in Egyptian literature. Among the thousands of inscriptions on stelae, tombs and temples in Egypt only two monuments preserve such a statement, identifying the author as king of kings - the annals of Menkheperre Thutmose for his 6th campaign and the sandstone stele of Piankhi. How coincidental is it that we identify them as one and the same person.

In September/October 609 B.C. Jehoahaz was deposed by Menkheperre Necao (Necho). That same month of that same year the event was the subject of boasting by Menkheperre Thutmose in his Annals. Some time later the memory of the event was acknowledged publicly on the sandstone stela of Menkheperre Piankhi. We wonder when Egyptologists will awaken to the fact that these epithets belong to one individual!

[48]G. A. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal," ZAS 66 (1931) 92.

Chapter Four
Battles in Naharin

Wiseman's Overview

By the end of the year 608 B.C. the balance of power in the Euphrates-Mediterranean corridor is reasonably well defined. Media and Babylon share domination of the lands east of the bend of the Euphrates; Egypt is sovereign over lands westward to the Mediterranean. There is some question about the allegiance of Carchemish, understandable in view of its location at the junction of lands controlled by the three powers. It appears to have remained loyal to Egypt.

According to the Chronicle, sometime late in 607 B.C., the 19th year of Nabopolassar, the Babylonian army crossed the Euphrates and lay siege to Kimuhu, a well fortified town an unknown distance south of Carchemish, on the west bank of the Euphrates. Although Egypt did not immediately respond, this act of aggression set the stage for a prolonged struggle for supremacy in the vicinity of Carchemish which lasted for over three years. The machinations of the opposing armies are not difficult to follow. Our intention in this chapter is to document the actions of the Babylonian and Egyptian armies year by year during this four year period (607/6-604/3 B.C.), using the Babylonian Chronicle as our guide. The resulting itinerary will then be compared, year by year, with the actions of the Egyptian army described in the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose. We begin by citing, for the record, Wiseman's summary of the Chronicle for the four year period beginning in 607 B.C. (see table 5 below).

We shall have to be careful when describing the activities of these years. While the Chronicler dates several actions of the Babylonian army to a specific month, in a few instances his description is less specific, leaving us to speculate on the precise times when the events in question took place. In spite of this difficulty it is possible to reconstruct a probable sequence of events, a month by month timetable of the activities of Nabopolassar and Egypt for the years 607-604 B.C., based entirely on the Chronicle.

Table 5: Nabopolassar year 19 through Nebuchadrezzar year 1 (607-604 B.C.), based entirely on the Babylonian Chronicle.

607	Nabopolassar 18/19	Nabopolassar with Crown-Prince (Nebuchadrezzar) leads armies to mountains. Nabopolassar returns. Nebuchadrezzar continues operations in Za.... Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon. Nabopolassar goes to Kimuhu (on Euphrates). Nabopolassar captures Kimuhu.	Piankhi 31/32
606	Nabopolassar 19/20	Nabopolassar returns to Babylon. ***Egyptian (re)capture Kimuhu after four-month siege.*** Nabopolassar with army to Quramati. Captures Sunadiri, Elammu and Dahammu.	Piankhi 32/33
605	Nabopolassar 20/21	Nabopolassar returns to Babylon ***Egyptians from Carchemish defeat Babylonians at Quramati***	Piankhi 33/34
		Events recorded by B.M. 21946	
605	Nabopolassar 21/22 (continued)	Nabopolassar stays in Babylonia. ***Nebuchadrezzar and Babylonians defeat Egyptians at Battle of Carchemish. Pursuit to Hamath. Conquest of Hatti.*** Nabopolassar dies after 21-year reign. (8th Ab) Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon. (Elul) Nebuchadrezzar ascends throne at Babylon. (1st Elul) Nebuchadrezzar returns to Syria.	Piankhi 33/34 (continued)
604	*Nebuchadrezzar 'Accession year'*, Nebuchadrezzar 1	Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon with tribute. Nebuchadrezzar takes the hands of Bel and Nabu and celebrates New Year Festival. Nebuchadrezzar and Babylonian army in Syria. Reception of tribute. Sack of Askelon.	Piankhi 34/35

There is a problem with Wiseman's summary of the Chronicle as shown in table 5. It itemizes events according to the Julian year. But the actions of the Egyptian army portrayed in the Annals are referenced to the regnal years of Menkheperre. If our objective is to compare the movements of the Egyptian army in the Chronicle with those described in the Annals we need to re-section Wiseman's data. Events need to be referenced to the year of king Nabopolassar, rather than the Julian year. This will be done year by year at the beginning of each section of our discussion. Although the years of Menkheperre began very early in March, and those of Nabopolassar likely began sometime after the middle of March, for convenience we assume throughout our discussion that their regnal years were synchronized. This simplification will not affect the argument.

The Siege of Kimuhu, Sept.-Nov. 607 B.C.

Table 6: The 19th year of Nabopolassar.
(Wiseman's summary of the Babylonian Chronicle)

Nabopolassar 19th Piankhi 32rd	Mar/April 607 Apr/May 607 May/June 607 June/July 607 July/Aug 607 Aug/Sept 607 Sept/Oct 607 Oct/Nov 607 Nov/Dec 607 Dec 607/Jan 606 Jan/Feb 606 Feb/Mar 606	Nabopolassar crosses Euphrates and attacks Kimuhu Siege of Kimuhu ends sucessfully.

According to the Chronicle

There is no need to refine our earlier comment regarding the attack on Kimuhu by Nabopolassar in his 19th year. It is not what the Chronicle says that is critical for this year. Rather it is the silence of the Chronicle that is important. Egypt is not mentioned. Apparently no Egyptian

campaign took place this year, the 32nd of Menkheperre, where one might otherwise be expected. After all, Kimuhu lies on the west bank of the Euphrates, in or adjacent to lands under Egyptian control. If an Egyptian army were resident in Syria we would have expected it to have responded immediately.

The fact that the Egyptian army was absent from Upper Retinu also explains what emboldened Nabopolassar to venture west of the Euphrates.

The account of the siege of Kimuhu is brief. It consists of a single line to set the stage, and a second to record the event.

> In the month of Elul the prince [Nebuchadrezzar] returned to Babylon and in the month of Tisri the king of Akkad [Nabopolassar] mustered his army and went to Kimuhu which is on the bank of the River Euphrates.
> He crossed the river and did battle against the city, and seized the city in the month of Kislev. (BM 22047 lines 12-14)

It is not stated in the Chronicle precisely when during the month Tishri (September/October) the siege began, nor when during the month Kislev (November/December) it ended. The entire assault may have lasted only slightly over one month. Menkheperre may have had no time to come to the defense of the city, assuming he were inclined to do so. In any case he remained in Egypt. The welfare of Kimuhu would await the beginning of his 33rd year. As we have noted several times already, Menkheperre typically began his campaigns in March/April, now only four months distant. There would be time then to retake the city.[49]

[49]It is not necessary to assume that Kimuhu was a vassal of Egypt, though it seems a reasonable assumption. Egypt was driven across the Euphrates in the immediate aftermath of the failed siege of Harran in 609 B.C. We can reasonably assume that the city of Carchemish was under its control at the time. There is no indication in the Chronicle that Nabopolassar either crossed the Euphrates in pursuit, or claimed sovereignty over lands west of the Euphrates. We agree with Wiseman that Carchemish might have housed a garrison of Egyptian troops from 609 B.C. through the battles in Naharin in 606-605 B.C.. The city may have come under Egyptian control as early as 616 B.C.

According to the Annals

At least in their mutual silence the Chronicle and the Annals are in agreement for the 19th year of Nabopolassar, the 32nd of Menkheperre. It is at least significant that the Egyptian king did not campaign this year. The Annals pass abruptly from the 7th campaign in year 31 of Menkheperre to the 8th campaign in year 33. It is rather in the 20th and 21st years of Nabopolassar that we will have opportunity to compare the records of the two documents. These years correspond to the 33rd and 34th years of Menkheperre, during which the Egyptian king launched his 8th and 9th campaigns. Our attention will therefore be focused on these two critical years, the last in the illustrious career of Nabopolassar, and the first in the lengthy kingship of his son and heir Nebuchadrezzar.

March/April 606 - March/April 605 B.C.

Table 7: The 20th year of Nabopolassar
(Wiseman Summary of the Babylonian Chronicle)

Nabopolassar 20th Menkheppere Piankhi 33rd 8th campaign	Mar/April 606 Apr/May 606 May/June 606 June/July 606 July/Aug 606 Aug/Sept 606 Sept/Oct 606 Oct/Nov 606 Nov/Dec 606 Dec 606/Jan 605 Jan/Feb 605 Feb/Mar 605 Mar/April 605	Egyptian assault on Kimuhu begins ***Egyptian army (re)captures Kimuhu after four-month siege.*** Nabopolassar with army to Quramati. Assault on Sunadiri, Elammu and Dahammu begins. Assault ends successfully. Nabopolassar returns to Babylon ***Egyptians from Carchemish defeat Babylonians at Quramati***

According to the Chronicle

The 20th year of Nabopolassar is perhaps the most eventful year documented in the Chronicle, with the possible exception of the one

following, the year of his death. All of the activity takes place at the western bend of the Euphrates.

This year, 606-605 B.C., is dominated by three events - 1) the loss to Egypt of the city of Kimuhu which had been captured late in the previous year (May - August 606 B.C.); 2) Nabopolassar's capture of three towns across the Euphrates from Quramati, apparently in reaction to his loss of Kimuhu (September 606 B.C. - January 605 B.C.); and finally, 3) the loss of Quramati (and the associated loss of the three cities), as the Egyptian army responded in kind (February 605 B.C.). We reproduce the entire content of the Chronicle for this year, eleven brief lines of cuneiform text.

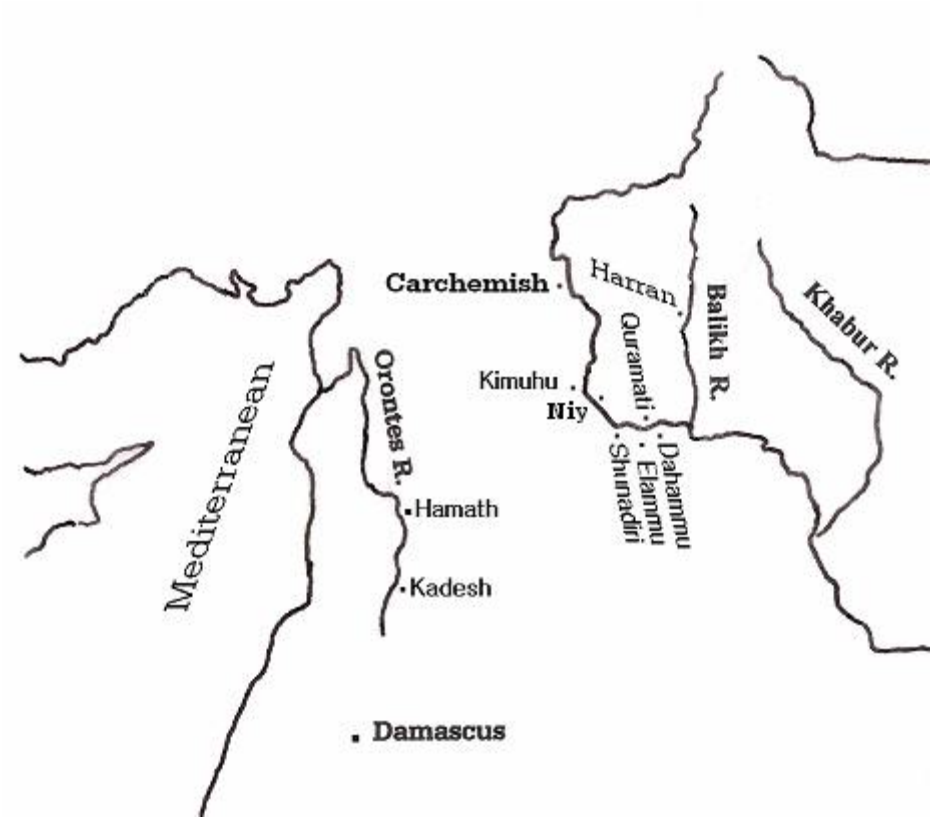
> In the twentieth year the army of Egypt came to the city of *Kimuḫu* against the garrison which the king of Akkad had set up within (it) and for four months they did battle against the city and then captured the city. They slew the garrison of (set there by) the king of Akkad.. In the month of Tisri (Sept/Oct) the king of Akkad mustered his army, marched along the bank of the Euphrates and pitched his camp at Quramati which is on the bank of the Euphrates. He sent his troops across the Euphrates and they seized the towns of *Šunadiri*, *Elammu* and *Daḫammu* which are in the country across the river. Spoil from them they took. In the month of Sebat (Jan/Feb), the king of Akkad returned to his own country. The Egyptian army which had crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish came against the Babylonian army which was stationed at Quramati but the Babylonian army withdrew quickly and retreated. (B.M. 21946 lines 16-26)

There are several interpretive problems associated with this section of the Chronicle. In the first place the location of the cities Kimuhu and *Quramati* is not firmly established. The map below (figure 8) is essentially the one produced by Wiseman[50], who locates Kimuhu south of Carchemish and Quramati still further south and east, though we note that Wiseman discusses possible alternative locations of these cities. We have added the conjectured site of Niy concerning which there is considerable disagreement.[51]

[50]Chronicle of Chaldaean Kings, p. 22. Wiseman's discussion on the location of the two cities is on p. 83.

[51]Some scholars locate Niy on the Euphrates, others on the Orontes River. We agree with the location in Naharin, but the substance of our argument would change very little if the city were located in Syria.

Figure 8: The Western Bend of the Euphrates in 606 B.C.



There is also a problem determining precisely when the "army of Egypt" arrived at the city of Kimuhu to begin its four month siege. We assume this siege ended only a short time before the Babylonian counteroffensive of the month Tisri (September/October). This would date its beginning sometime in May.

Finally there is the question: what portion of the Egyptian army was present at each event? Wiseman assumes that the defeat of Kimuhu was accomplished using only a residual Egyptian force, an opinion based in part on the extremely long time it took for the assault to succeed, four months compared with the two months or less that it had taken Nabopolassar to seize the city (from Egypt?) the previous year.

Throughout his discussion Wiseman assumes that Carchemish contains an Egyptian garrison, and that the city has been under Egyptian control since at least 609 B.C. It is Carchemish, he argues, which provided the troops to retake Kimuhu, and to capture Quramati early in 606 B.C. He is correct on all points save one. As we will soon see, the siege of Kimuhu was, as Wiseman suggests, the action of a small segment of the Egyptian army. But these troops did not originate in Carchemish.

We reproduce Wiseman's entire discussion here. We will have cause to comment on it as we proceed.

> Kimuhu was a strategic site commanding a river crossing. Its capture by the Babylonians guarded against any Egyptian thrust down the river and gave a base from which the Egyptian line of communication from Hamath to Carchemish might be threatened. The importance of Kimuhu is further attested by the swift reaction of the Egyptians to its capture, for after Nabopolassar's departure, they marched to besiege the town. The Babylonian garrison would be limited in numbers, and as the siege lasted four months it is clear that the besiegers did not represent the full strength of the Egyptian army. At last the town fell, the Babylonian garrison being slain by the Egyptians. Nabopolassar at once called out his army and marched up the east bank of the Euphrates to camp at Quramati. He then sent detachments across the river to seize the towns of Šunadiri, Elammu and Dahammu. These places are otherwise unknown and were perhaps only small villages whose capture gave the Babylonians a bridgehead which served both to guard the river ford and also to hinder any possible outflanking movement by the Egyptians were they to try joining up with dissident forces in the Hindanu and Suhu regions down the river. The location of Quramati depends on that of Kimuhu which lay south of Carchemish and above Meskeneh, where the river bends eastward. Quramati being south of Kimuhu ... CKK. 21,22

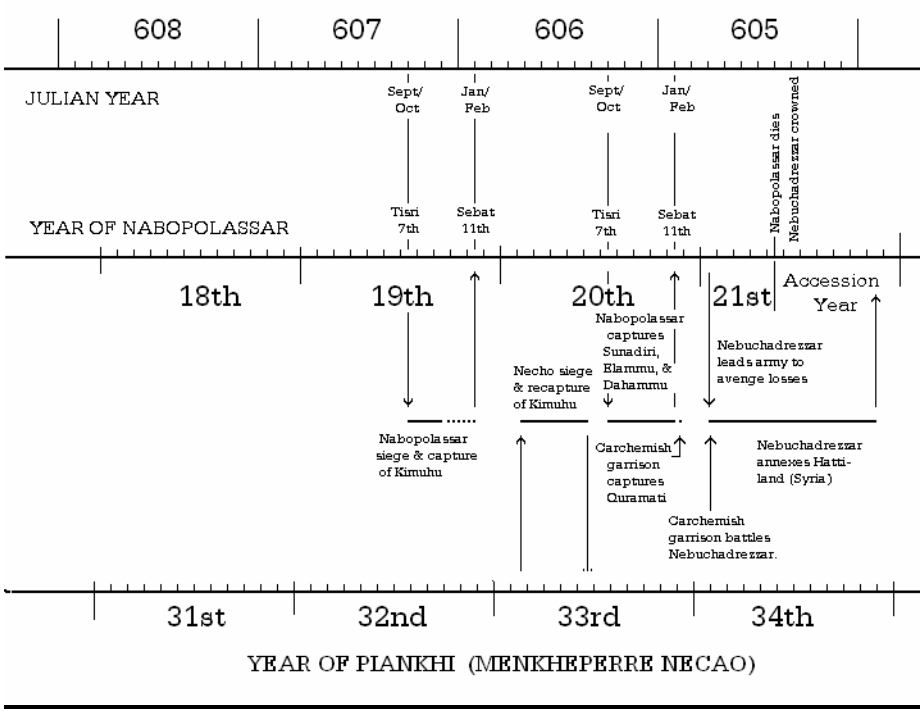
Wiseman goes on to discuss possible locations of Quramati further downriver from where he places it on the map. He then continues ...

> Having disposed his troops in a defensive position, Nabopolassar returned to Babylon in Sebat (January/February 605 B.C.). This was the last time he was destined to lead his army in battle. Very soon afterwards, the Egyptian forces took the initiative , for they crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish and marched down the left bank towards the Babylonians at Quramati. The latter had already displayed their weakness by failing to advance upstream in order to recapture Kimuhu, and they now moved off before the enemy made contact with them Their retreat may have been due, in part, to lack of leadership, for there is no record that the crown-prince remained with the army after Nabopolassar's return to Babylon. CKK. 22

This is the sum total of the Chronicle record for this year as interpreted by Wiseman. In view of the complexity of the Egyptian/Babylonian interaction we wonder how the Annals will compare.

Before we analyze the content of the Annals we need to provide some visual support for the reader. In our earlier book we briefly reviewed the Chronicle entries for the 18th year of Nabopolassar through to the accession year of Nebuchadrezzar and provided a timeline[52] based on the Babylonian Chronicle data. We duplicate that chart here making only one change. The name of the Egyptian king was there assumed to be Wahemibre Necao. That name is now changed to Piankhi, alias Menkheperre Necao.

Figure 9: Timeline – Battles at the Euphrates



[52] *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, figure 5, page 10.

According to the Annals.

It is significant that Menkheperre spent his entire 33rd year engaged in military activity at the bend of the Euphrates. That fact is self evident from even a cursory reading of the Annals of his 8th campaign. Egyptologists concur. The only question is whether the Annals and the Chronicle agree in their portrayal of events at this location.

We should note, before we begin to compare the two documents, that we must ignore completely the interpretation given the Annals for this year (and the next) by the current generation of scholars. When Breasted, whose opinion is representative, states that "in this year the king carries out the greatest campaign of his Asiatic wars, viz., the conquest of the Euphrates country", he is clearly representing the 33rd year of Menkheperre as that king's initial visit to region, one in which he encounters and defeats the city of Carchemish. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Annals say nothing about an Egyptian attack on Carchemish, either this year or the next. The belief that Menkheperre fought a battle with this city on his 8th campaign is derived from the tomb inscriptions of Amenemheb, on the assumption that this dignitary did not follow a chronological order as he reviewed his military career. And we have previously argued against this mistaken opinion. Amenemheb fought *in the land of* Carchemish (in league with Ashuruballit against the Babylonian/Median coalition) on Menkheperre's 5th campaign, not *against* Carchemish on the 8th campaign. Let us read the Annals to see what actually happened.

> Year 33. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu; [he] arrived ----- .
> [He set up a tablet] east of this water; he set up another beside the tablet of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Okheperkere.
> Behold, his majesty went north capturing the towns and laying waste the settlements of that foe of wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n3*)
> — he [pursu]ed after them an iter (*ytr*) of sailing; not one looked behind him, but (they) fled, forsooth, like a [herd] of mountain goats; yea, the horses fled ----- .
> [List of the booty taken] among the whole army, consisting of; princes, 3; their wives, 30; men taken, 80; 606 slaves, male and female, with their children; those who surrendered (and) their wives, ----- (he) harvested their grain. His majesty arrived at the city of Niy (*Nyy*), going south-ward, when his majesty returned, having set up his tablet in Naharin (*N-h-ry-n3*), extending the boundaries of Egypt. ----------. BAR II 477-81

If the first line of this year's inscription is inconclusive, because the end of the line is damaged, the record is set straight from other documents which state that Menkheperre moved through Syria (Retenu) to the Euphrates, which he proceeded to cross. It was early in his 33rd year. According to the Barkal stele, en route to Naharin Menkheperre stopped at the Orontes River, while he still had access to timber, to construct makeshift boats with which to ferry his army across the Euphrates. Clearly he intended to embark on a trans-Euphrates campaign. Assuming that a month or so was occupied in this endeavor, and that he began his campaign as usual early in the spring, he must have arrived at Naharin near the end of the second month of his regnal year. This is consistent with the Chronicle, which states that the Egyptian siege of Kimuhu began early in Nabopolassar's (and thus Menkheperre's) regnal year.

We assume that Menkheperre began the siege of Kimuhu the moment he arrived at the Euphrates. Then, leaving a small contingent of his army to continue the siege (which explains it's lengthy duration), he crossed the Euphrates near the city of Niy and headed north to conquer the lands between Carchemish and Harran, those lost by Amenemheb and a division of the Egyptian army, in alliance with Ashuruballit, three years earlier. On this northern campaign Menkheperre set to flight that "foe of wretched Naharin", presumably a reference to the Medes who now controlled the area. There are also hints in the Annals for this year that he encountered the Kheta (the Hittites), though the encounter was not necessarily hostile. More will be said about the Hittites in a moment.

Menkheperre's trans-Euphrates campaign must have occupied considerable time, to judge from the size of the booty, and the fact that this is the only event in which he participated this year. We assume the campaign lasted four or five months. By the time of his return to Niy (the last action specifically mentioned in the Annals) the siege of Kimuhu had already ended. Either that or the return of the army precipitated its surrender. It was now the fall of the year, as once again we find the Egyptians harvesting the grain of the region.

The fact that the Egyptian king condensed five months of significant military activity into a few lines of text is not surprising. As we have seen in earlier sections of the Annals, Menkheperre is more concerned

with itemizing the tribute brought home to Amun than he is with any detailed description of how that tribute was obtained. The brevity of the record also explains why the assault of Kimuhu is not mentioned specifically. Since Menkheperre omits any details of his four months of war with the "foe of wretched Naharin", we should not be perplexed at his omission of other specifics of his 8th campaign, in particular the siege of a single city.

We assume that Menkheperre returned to Egypt in September of 606 B.C., his authority in the Euphrates region re-established. A lacuna exists in the Annals immediately following the mention of his return to Niy. More than likely his exit from the region was recorded there. Apparently a garrison of troops was left at Carchemish to safeguard the area, a precaution necessitated by the threat of retaliation by the Medes and/or the Babylonians.

We obtain no additional specifics from the Annals. The balance of the inscription for the 8th campaign consists of a list of booty. This list is instructive but before we examine it in detail we need to supply the sequel to the events noted, based largely on the Chronicle. In September/October of the year, after Menkheperre returned to Egypt, Nabopolassar moved to recapture Kimuhu. Moving up the Euphrates to Quramati, a city already loyal to Babylon, he crossed the Euphrates and attacked and seized the towns of Sunadiri, Elammu, and Dahammu. These were not insignificant towns, in spite of Wiseman's comment to the contrary. Their capture took the Babylonian king four months, from Tishri (September/October) to Shabat (January/February), thus into the Julian year 605 B.C., but still within Nabopolassar's 20th year. According to the Chronicle, in a section quoted earlier:

> In the month of Sebat, the king of Akkad returned to his own country. The Egyptian army which had crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish came against the Babylonian army which was stationed in Quramati but the Babylonian army withdrew quickly and retreated. (BM 21946 ll. 23-26)

There is no problem understanding why Nabopolassar returned home rather than attempt the recapture of Kimuhu. The siege of the three trans-Euphrates cities had taken longer than anticipated. And since he died six months later we can safely assume he was ill Regardless, his

withdrawal from Quramati served as a signal for the Egyptian garrison at Carchemish to respond, putting an end to Babylon's intrusion into Egyptian territory. We have already noted Wiseman's opinion that the responsive attack on Quramati did not involve the Egyptian king, nor the bulk of the Egyptian army. He was correct. Menkheperre had long since departed for Egypt where he remained for the balance of his 33rd year.

According to the Chronicle the auxiliary force from Carchemish defeated the Babylonian garrison at Quramati immediately after the departure of Nabopolassar, either that same month or at the latest the next (Adar), since the Chronicle cites the event as the last incident in the 20th year of Nabopolassar. It is therefore still within the 33rd year of Menkheperre.

Tribute from the 8th Campaign.

We pick up the record of the Annals where we left it moments ago following Menkheperre's exit from Naharin. The inscription proceeds immediately with further lists of tribute. Since Menkheperre has already itemized the bounty he received on his four month campaign against the "foe of wretched Naharin", these further items must refer to material goods received by the army resident in Syria after his departure for Egypt.

The list begins with tribute received from "the chiefs of this country", presumably a reference to Naharin. It continues by itemizing tribute forthcoming from Zahi and Lebanon, isolating for special mention the important "gifts" from the Kheta and from the "chief of Shinar". The record for the year concludes with an account of the marvels derived from Egypt's Mediterranean trade (from the land of Punt) and from Wawat, south of Egypt.

We are particularly interested in the references to the Kheta and to the "chief of Shinar".

> The tribute of the chief of Shinar (*š3-n-g-rˁ*), real lapis lazuli, 4(+x) deben; artificial lapis lazuli, 24 deben; lapis lazuli of Babylon (*B-b-r3*) ----- of real lapis lazuli; a rem's head of real lapis lazuli; 15 kidet; and vessels -----.
> The tribute of Kheta (*Ḫ-t3*) the Great, in this year: 8 silver rings, making 401

> deben, of white precious stone, a great block (*t3-gw-*) wood ----- [returning] to Egypt , at his coming from Naharin (*N-h-ry-n3*), extending the boundaries of Egypt. BAR II 485-486

The problematic nature of these two names for the traditional history is all but ignored by Breasted in his commentary on the Annals. His reflections are restricted to a single sentence, remarkable for its oversight.

> Even far-off Babylon sends gifts, which, of course, the king calls tribute, and also the Hittites, who here make their first appearance in history. BAR II 476 P. 202

We are perplexed by this abbreviated comment, which entirely ignores the problem. Neither the Kheta nor the "chief of Shinar" belong in this list, at least on the assumption that the Annals belong in the 15th century B.C. The matter is sufficiently serious to warrant further comment. We begin with the Kheta.

Tribute from Hatti

In the traditional history the Hittites of the mid-2nd millennium B.C. were an emerging nation with homeland in central Anatolia.[53] By the mid 13th century B.C. this nation had expanded its sphere of influence to include almost all of Anatolia, save for the eastern shores of the Aegean, thus becoming, along with Mitanni, a dominant force in Asian politics. But in the 15th century, the time of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre Thutmose, the Kheta nation was still in its infancy. Its territorial expansion was yet a century in the future. Its sovereignty did not reach as far south as northern Syria nor eastward to the western bend of the Euphrates. Then how did Menkheperre come into contact with the Hittites near the western bend of the Euphrates during his 8th campaign? In the 15th century the Hittites should be several hundred miles north and west of this region.

On the other hand, on the assumption that Menkheperre belongs to the late 7th century, the mention of the Kheta is not only non-problematic, it is anticipated in any campaign in the vicinity of Carchemish. In the next book of our series we will demonstrate that the Hittite Empire reached its

[53]The very existence of the Hittites was unknown to the scholarly world until the discovery of the Amarna correspondence and the excavations in north Syria and Anatolia late in the 19th century.

pinnacle under Suppiluliumas I and his immediate successors during the 9th century B.C. By the year 765 B.C. the Empire had run its course, replaced by the Phrygians in central Anatolia. But the end of the Hittite Empire did not mean the end of the Hittites, who continued to exist as a people, side by side with the Phrygians, down to the 2nd century B.C. During the Empire period, as early as the 9th century B.C., the Hittites controlled lands bordering the Euphrates north and west of Carchemish. In 9th century Assyrian texts these lands are repeatedly called the "Hatti lands." That designation endured for centuries, and the Babylonian Chronicle of the late 7th century makes frequent use of the phrase when describing activity near the western bend of the Euphrates. Apparently the post Empire Hittite peoples are alive and well.[54] It is entirely expected that Menkheperre would have some dealings with this ethnic group in the course of his 8th campaign[55].

Tribute from Babylon

A similar problem is inherent in the assumed reference to tribute from Babylon. If the "chief of Shinar" is understood as a reference to the king of Babylon, we wonder why tribute would be forthcoming from such a remote location, 300 hundred miles distant from the Euphrates arena where the Egyptian king has just encountered the foe of Naharin. It is precisely the same argument we raised in relation to the mention of "far off Assyria" and Babylon following the first campaign. A response from the distant Babylonians in the 15th century B.C. is highly unlikely, and the interpretation provided by Breasted is accordingly suspect.

But the difficulty with tribute from the "chief of Shinar" does not end there. There is a more fundamental problem. The text does not actually refer to a "king of Babylon". It mentions only a "chief of Shinar" who includes with his tribute "lapiz lazuli from Babylon". The question needs

[54]The reader will recall from our earlier book *Nebuchadnezzar*, that late in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, yet forty years in the future, Taharka conquered these same Kheta during the time of Nebuchadrezzar's mania. (chapter 4, pp. 113-119). At the time they appear to be still living in the vicinity of Carchemish in Naharin, near the bend of the Euphrates.

[55]It is, of course, possible that Menkheperre did engage the Hittites in battle. But in that case we should have expected this mention of tribute from the Hittites in the section of the Annals which precedes the departure of Menkheperre from the Euphrates region.

to be raised: Who is the "chief of Shinar" mentioned in this context?

When scholars first read this phrase in the Annals they were immediately confronted with a problem. This king is clearly accorded special mention by Menkheperre, as if he has played a significant role in the course of the 8th campaign. In context he must be located in the western Euphrates region, or bordering those lands, as were the Kheta. But no important city or city state by that name existed in the 15th century. The only name that came to the mind of scholars, both because it had had dealings with Egypt following the 1st campaign, and because the list of tribute mentioned "lapis-lazuli from Babylon", was Babylon itself. Therefore, according to the understanding of early Egyptologists, Shinar(?) (*š3-n-g-r3*) must be a reference to the region of biblical Shinar in lower Mesopotamia, used here by metonymy for Babylon. Such at least was the identification proposed by Brugsch in the 19th century. Meyer argued around the same time that the name refers to "the Sanhar of the Amarna letters", which led him ultimately to the same conclusion as Brugsch, since he identified Sanhar with Shinar. But these arguments are labored. Why such an oblique reference to a Babylonian king? We have a better solution.

With the 33rd year of Menkheperre identified with the 20th of Nabopolassar there is no problem with the references to the "chief of Shinar" or the "lapiz-lazuli from Babylon". The Egyptian army resident in Carchemish has just caused the Babylonian garrison to flee Quramati, thus freeing the cities of Sunadiri, Elammu, and Dahammu. In this scenario we do not expect either tribute or "gifts" to be forthcoming from Babylon to Egypt. But we do expect an expression of gratitude on the part of the three liberated cities. Since Sunadiri is mentioned first in the triumvirate, we expect it was the major city in the group. We assume that in appreciation for its liberation from Babylon the chief of Sunadiri, probably on behalf of the three cities, sent to Menkheperre gifts of lapis lazuli, some of which derived from the Babylonian conquerors, now departed. We note that the Annals actually record the city name as Shanagira (*š3-n-g-r3*). Only by a linguistic stretch were Brugsch and Meyer able to transcribe the name as Shinar, all but ignoring the third consonant. But Shunadiri and Shanagira are virtually identical, assuming only a variant "plosive" sound for the problematic third consonant. And if we remember that the annalist would have heard the name of the

remote and otherwise inconsequential city at second hand, we can tolerate the discrepancy.[56]

Amenemheb Again

Before we move on to examine the eventful 21st year of Nabopolassar, the 34th of Menkheperre, we focus our attention one more time on the biographical inscriptions of Amenemheb. Thus far we have noted a striking correspondence between the memoirs of this military officer and the Annals of the king. There has been no need to assume that these memoirs are confused and non sequential. Rather, confusion has been introduced by Egyptologists into the interpretation of the Annals based on this errant assumption. But if the journal of Amenemheb is written in chronological order we expect that it may shed some light on Menkheperre's 33rd year. We pick up his tomb inscription where we left it in the last chapter.

> I saw my lord in — — — — — — in all his forms in the country of the ends of [the earth] — — — Ha — (*Ḥ3* —). Then I was raised to be the — — [— —] of the army, like — —.
> Again I beheld his victory in the country of Tikhsi (*ṯy-ḫ-sy*) the wretched, in the city of Mero— (*Mr-yw*—). I fought hand to hand therein before the king. I brought off Asiatics, 3 men, as living prisoners. Then my lord gave to me the god of honor; list thereof: 2 golden necklaces, 4 arm rings, 2 flies, a lion, a female slave, and a male slave.
> Again [I beheld] another excellent deed which the Lord of the Two Lands did in Niy (*Nyy*). He hunted 120 elephants, for the sake of their tusks and [—]. I engaged the largest which was among them, which fought against his majesty; I cut off his hand while he was alive [before] his majesty, while I stood in the water between two rocks. Then my lord rewarded me with gold; [he] gave — — — and 3 changes of clothing." BAR II 586-588

In the opinion of Breasted the three incidents recorded here belong in three different time periods. The first is supposedly a campaign in an unknown country for which no corresponding year in the Annals is given.

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[56]Albright anticipated one aspect of our conclusion in his 1928 discussion of the "Royal Stele of the New Empire from Galilee," JEA 14 (1928). In this article he mentions the Annals reference to the "chief of Shinar" and interprets it correctly as a reference to a city on the banks of the Euphrates. But he relates it to "cuneiform Shanhar, south-east of the Khabur" (p283). The identification suffers the same criticisms applied to the Shinar interpretation.

The second, the battle in Tikhsi, is assumed to belong to the tenth campaign dated to the 35th year of the king, though the Annals for that campaign name no such country. Only the elephant hunt at Niy is assigned to the 33rd year, the only time Menkheperre is known to have visited that area. We argue instead that they all belong to the king's 33rd year.[57]

The text of the first few lines is broken and uncertain, but sufficient remains to determine that a battle was fought in a "country of (at) the ends of the earth". In context this can only be a reference to the region of Naharin. And the obscured reference to " Ha — (*Ḥꜣ* —)" may well refer to the Hittites, Amenemheb supplying the vowel omitted by the Annals.

The "country of Tikhsi (*ṯy-ḫ-sy*), the wretched" is also a reference to the Naharin area. There is no clear indication to the contrary in any documentary source. The name occurs elsewhere notably in only two other inscriptions, and in each case it can be argued that the reference is to the area north and east of Carchemish.[58] It is likely that this is the name of a city or region occupied by the "wretched foe of Naharin".

And finally, the concluding mention of an elephant hunt in the vicinity of Niy serves to confirm the interpretation given to the preceding references, which appear to belong together. We assume this sporting reprieve occurred at the end of Menkheperre's trans Euphrates campaign, immediately prior to his return to Egypt. Any other interpretation of this section of Amenemheb's tomb inscription is strained.

Menkheperre was at this moment on top of the world, literally and figuratively. The capture of the towns of Sunadiri, Elammu, and Dahammu by Nabopolassar, which followed by weeks the elephant hunt and the return of Menkheperre to Egypt, had been but a temporary

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[57]If Breasted is correct then Amenemheb's journal begins with three battles which took place in the year 33 [which we have placed in year 30 (sect. 581-584)], followed by the capture of Kadesh dated to the year 30 (sect. 585), then the campaign in the unknown country, left undated (586), and finally the battle in Tikhsi of year 35 (587). Only then does Amenemheb once again interject an incident from the year 33 campaign (588). The confusion attributed to Amenemheb should rather be credited to his interpreters.

[58]The name Tikhsi occurs in reference to the 1st campaign of Amenhotop II (prior to his 3rd year) and on the chariot inscription of Thutmose IV. Both documents will be examined at the appropriate time.

setback, set right by the garrison from Carchemish when they defeated Quramati at year's end. At the conclusion of his 33rd year Menkheperre ruled the lands from "Yeraza to the marshes of the earth", the goal established in his 1st campaign of victory[59]. But within months, much of this newly won territory would be lost.

Aakheperkare

Before moving on to the next eventful year a concluding remark is necessary. In the Annals for this year there is a reference to Menkheperre setting up a tablet in Naharin "beside the tablet of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Okheperkere". Lest we be accused of avoiding the issue we need to intrude on our discussion and comment briefly on this genealogical reference.

In the traditional history Aakheperkare is typically, though not universally, identified as the *grandfather* of the 18th dynasty king Menkheperre Thutmose. The critic will therefore argue, with some merit, that an 18th dynasty *grandson* is much more likely to refer to Aakheperkare as his "father" than is a distant 25th dynasty pharaoh with only pretended connections to the Empire period. To that anticipated objection we say only two things at this time. In the first place we argue that the word translated "father" in this instance typically means no more than "ancestor". It is used frequently by Egyptian kings to refer to illustrious predecessors many generations removed, regardless of family connections. It is at least conceivable that Piankh *might have* used the term to refer to a predecessor of his 18th dynasty namesake.

In the second place we suggest a more plausible alternative. When Piankhi adopted the name of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre he did so for a good reason. It was not a random choice of names. That reason will become apparent in later chapters of this book. At that time we will see that Piankhi was not the only member of his extended family to borrow names from 18th dynasty pharaohs.[60] His father did the same, and the

[59]BAR II 416

[60]While we do not intend to "steal the thunder" of later discussions, we might at least mention the obvious at this time. Those who have read the introductory book of this series will realize that

name he used, as the reader might by this time have guessed, was Aakheperkare. If so, there can be no doubt that the Aakheperkare mentioned in the Annals for this year is in fact the 7th century father of Piankhi.[61]

March/April 605 - March/April 604 B.C.

Table 8: The 21st year of Nabopolassar / Accession Year of Nebuchadrezzar (Wiseman Summary of the Babylonian Chronicle)

Nabopolassar 21st/ Nebuchadrezzar (acc. year) Piankhi 34rd 9th campaign	Mar/April 605	Nabopolassar stays in Babylon. Probably ill.
	Apr/May 605	***Nebuchadrezzar and Babylonians defeat Egyptians at Battle of Carchemish.***
	May/June 605	
	June/July 605	***Pursuit to Hamath. Conquest of the Hatti lands.***
	July/Aug 605	Nabopolassar dies after 21-year reign. (8thAb).
	Aug/Sept 605	Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon.
	Sept/Oct 605	Nebuchadrezzar ascends throne at Babylon. (1st Elul)
	Oct/Nov 605	Nebuchadrezzar returns to Syria. Tour of the Hatti lands.
	Nov/Dec 605	
	Dec 605/Jan 604	
	Jan/Feb 604	
	Feb/Mar 604	Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon with heavy tribute.
	Mar/April 604	

Piankhi's reign overlaps those of 22nd and 23rd dynasty kings with the prenomen Aakheper(u)re (Sheshonk V) and Aakheperre (Takeloth IV). These two kings are clearly namesakes of 18th dynasty pharaohs. And every student of Egyptian history is informed early in his studies that the new kingdom pharaohs of the 25th and 26th dynasties attempted to bring about a revival of the art and culture of the Empire period. It should surprise no-one that this renaissance movement included the adoption of names of illustrious 18th dynasty pharaohs.

[61]This mention of Piankhi and his father borrowing names of 18th dynasty kings reminds us of the confusion that exists regarding the succession of pharaohs in the 18th dynasty, a problem which has confounded scholars for centuries. According to our thesis, the confusion has resulted from the widespread use of 18th dynasty names by 25th dynasty pretenders. The matter will be discussed again at the appropriate time.

The Babylonian Chronicle. Nabopolassar's 21st year / Nebuchadrezzar's Accession year.

According to the Chronicle, confirmed by Jewish historians, Egypt fought and lost a battle with Babylon in the year 605 B.C.. The encounter took place at or near the town of Carchemish. It is dated by the Chronicler early in Nabopolassar's 21st year. The Babylonian king was apparently ill, but the defeat at Quramati had to be avenged, so Nebuchadrezzar led the army in his father's stead.

> In the twenty-first year the king of Akkad stayed in his own land, Nebuchadrezzar his eldest son, the crown-prince, mustered (the Babylonian army) and took command of his troops; he marched to Carchemish which is on the bank of the Euphrates, and crossed the river (to go) against the Egyptian army which lay in Carchemish, ... fought with each other and the Egyptian army withdrew before him. He accomplished their defeat and to non-existence [beat?] them. As for the rest of the Egyptian army which had escaped from the defeat (so quickly that) no weapon had reached them, in the district of Hamath the Babylonian troops overtook and defeated them so that not a single man [escaped] to his own country. At that time Nebuchadrezzar conquered the whole area of the Hatti-country. BM 21946 ll. 1-8

By the end of the month of Tammuz (June/July) Nebuchadrezzar occupied much of the trans-Euphrates region east of the anti-Lebanon range, including the upper reaches of the Orontes as far south as Hamath. Kadesh was not included in this initial foray. It is a moot point precisely what region the Chronicler has in mind in his use of the term "Hatti lands", but there is no good reason for assuming that the term refers to anything other than the classical "neo-Hittite" lands west and north of Carchemish. Since there is no mention of the Mediterranean, nor any towns in the coastal region, we can argue that Egypt continued to dominate this area, known to the ancients as Zahi. Nebuchadrezzar no doubt intended to extend his dominion to the coast, but time and circumstance dictated otherwise. Early in the month of Ab (July/August) his father died and he was forced to return to Babylon.

> For twenty-one years Nabopolassar had been king of Babylon. On the 8th of the month of Ab he died (lit. 'the fates'); in the month of Elul he [Nebuchadrezzar] returned to Babylon and on the first day of the month of Elul he sat on the royal throne in Babylon. ll. 9-11.

Since the Babylonian year began in March/April, the entire action against the Egyptian army lasted at most four months, and probably much less. Unfortunately the Chronicle omits mention of the month when the crown-prince left his homeland to begin his battle at Carchemish. It states only when the operation ended.

In the Babylonian system of "accession year dating" the balance of Nabopolassar's 21st year is referred to as the 'accession year' of his son Nebuchadrezzar, whose official 1st year would begin, as usual for Babylonian kings, in the month of Nisan (March/April) following (thus in 604 B.C.). Nebuchadrezzar spent little time in mourning. He returned quickly to resume his military operations in the Hatti lands, actions which lasted until the month of Shabat (or Sebat) (January/February), early in the year 604 B.C..

> In the 'accession year' Nebuchadrezzar went back again to the Hatti-land and until the month of Sebat marched unopposed through the Hatti-land; in the month of Sebat he took the heavy tribute of the Hatti-territory to Babylon. In the month of Nisan he took the hands of Bel and the son of Bel and celebrated the akitu (New Year) festival. ll. 12-14

The New Years festival which formally introduced Nebuchadrezzar's 1st year took place roughly mid-March of 604 B.C. Since the rout of the Egyptian army at Carchemish in April or May of the preceding year there has been no mention of Egypt in the Chronicle. The Egyptian army next appears in the fourth year of Nebuchadrezzar. We wonder what happened to Menkheperre?

Before we examine the Annals for Menkheperre's 34th year there is one further source of information that needs to be examined. Jewish historians had something to say concerning the defeat of the Egyptian army at Carchemish. We recall that Menkheperre Necao (Necho) was responsible for the death of Josiah at Megiddo, at least according to this revision. He was, in consequence, no friend of Israel. Josiah was revered by his Judean subjects. The Egyptian loss at Carchemish was therefore a source of joy in Jerusalem. The text of the 46th chapter of Jeremiah celebrates the Egyptian defeat in song. It is worth quoting.

> This is the message against *the army of Pharaoh Neco* king of Egypt, which was defeated at Carchemish on the Euphrates River by Nebuchadnezzar king of

> Babylon in the fourth year of Jehoiakim son of Josiah king of Judah:
> Prepare your shield, both large and small, and march out for battle!
> Harness the horses, mount the steeds!
> Take your positions with helmets on!
> Polish your spears, put on your armor!
> What do I see? They are terrified, they are retreating their warriors are defeated.
> They flee in haste without looking back, and there is terror on every side, declares the Lord.
> The swift cannot flee nor the strong escape.
> In the north by the River Euphrates they stumble and fall.
> Who is this that rises like the Nile, like rivers of surging waters?
> Egypt rises like the Nile, like rivers of surging waters.
> She says, 'I will rise and cover the earth; I will destroy cities and their people.'
> Charge, O horses! Drive furiously, O charioteers!
> March on, O warriors – *men of Cush and Put* who carry shields, *men of Lydia* who draw the bow.
> But that day belongs to the Lord, the LORD Almighty — a day of vengeance, for vengeance on his foes.
> The sword will devour till it is satisfied, till it has quenched its thirst with blood.
> For the Lord, the LORD Almighty, will offer sacrifice in the land of the north by the River Euphrates.
> Go up to Gilead and get balm, O Virgin Daughter of Egypt.
> But you multiply remedies in vain; there is no healing for you.
> The nations will hear of your shame; your cries will fill the earth.
> One warrior will stumble over another; both will fall down together. Jer. 46:2-12 (italics added)

When Wiseman examined the Chronicle he was of the opinion that Nebuchadrezzar's victory at Carchemish and in the Hatti lands following was not so comprehensive as many scholars suggest. He believed that the Egyptian army defeated at Carchemish was only a local garrison.

> There is no direct indication in the Chronicle that Pharaoh Neco was himself with the Egyptian army. Indeed the apparent ease with which the Babylonians reached Carchemish through territory where they had been defeated by the Egyptians in the previous year makes it more likely that the Egyptian force consisted in the main of garrison troops.[62]

It is not just the ease of conquest which suggests that Nebuchadrezzar fought against an inferior force based in Carchemish. The Chronicle states the fact specifically, noting that Nebuchadrezzar crossed the Euphrates and did battle with "*the Egyptian army which lay in*

[62]CCK, p. 24.

Carchemish". This is clearly an army of occupation, a garrison of Egyptian troops left to safeguard Egyptian interests in the region of Naharin. The biblical text of Jeremiah echoes these sentiments. Its message is directed explicitly against "*the army* of Pharaoh Neco, king of Egypt." Were Necho himself involved we would expect that fact to be acknowledged.

We note in passing the ethnological makeup of the Egyptian garrison based at Carchemish. According to the text of Jeremiah it consisted of troops from Cush, Put and Lydia. Native Egyptian troops are noticeably absent. This is a Nubian army, buttressed by troops from other regions dominated by Menkheperre. This ethnic makeup is surprising, to say the least, in an army of occupation from the 15th century B.C., but is totally consistent with our argument that Menkheperre belongs to the 25th Cushite dynasty of the 7th century B.C.. We leave the matter there and turn our attention to the Annals. What do they contribute to our understanding of the Battle of Carchemish?.

The Menkheperre Annals (Year 34) - the 9th Campaign.

It is of interest that Menkheperre, following the year of his greatest triumph, the conquest of the trans-Euphrates region, says no more about Naharin. No military action in or visit to this area is recorded in the text of his 34th year, nor for that matter, in the Annals for any subsequent year. Naharin is mentioned in the 10th campaign of his 35th year and again in the 17th campaign in his 42nd year, and in both instances the name occurs only because mercenaries from the Naharin area are assisting a rebellion in Zahi and in Syria. These references serve only to confirm that Egypt no longer controls the area. More significantly, no mention of tribute from Naharin is ever mentioned by Menkheperre after his 33rd year. What happened? Of course we know the answer.

The Annals for the 34th year do not mention the defeat at Carchemish, a fact consistent with the Annals elsewhere and therefore not unexpected. In the first place, as we have repeatedly stated, Menkheperre habitually ignores his losses. Secondly, he consistently mentions only the actions of the main army in which he is a participant. And the loss at Carchemish,

we have argued, was suffered by a garrison left behind to guard the eastern frontier. It is only from circumstantial evidence that we can verify the loss by Egypt of its Euphrates domains and much of Syria.

For his 34th year Menkheperre records only minor skirmishes in the region of Zahi, the Phoenician coastline. Perhaps the victories of Nebuchadrezzar had encouraged rebellion in this area which must now be suppressed. It is noteworthy that Egypt did not enter Retenu this year, a fact consistent with the Chronicle which claims that those lands were now controlled by Nebuchadrezzar. Instead he remained on the coast, securing his Mediterranean base. The Annals describe the fortification of key coastal cities, an action also consistent with the looming threat posed by the victories of Nebuchadrezzar. Menkheperre apparently anticipates that Babylon might advance toward the Sea.

While it is true that Menkheperre did not journey to Retenu this year, he did receive tribute from that area. We assume that these material goods had been sent to the coast of Zahi by the Syrian princes in the months prior to Tammuz (June/July) when Nebuchadrezzar defeated the garrison in Charchemish. How else would they have been obtained? As Breasted says, "The king confines himself this year to little more than a voyage of inspection to Zahi, receiving the surrender of submissive towns, and the tribute of Retenu, and Cyprus." (BAR II 488) Apparently Zahi was a depository for tribute from both Retenu and Cyprus.

We should pause here to read the Annals for the 9th campaign. It is not a lengthy entry.

> Year 34. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi (*Ḏ3-hy*).
> ----- he surrendered fully to his majesty with [fear]. List of the towns captured in this year: 2 towns, (and) a town which surrendered in the district of Nuges (*3n-yw-g-s3*); total 3. Captives brought to his majesty ----- taken captive 90, those who surrendered, their wives and their children -----; 40 horses; 15 chariots, wrought with silver and gold; ... together with every fine wood of this country.
> Tribute of the chiefs of Retenu in this year: (*extensive list of tribute follows*).
> Behold, all the harbors of his majesty were supplied with every good thing of that [which] [his] majesty received [in] Zahi (*Ḏ3-hy*), consisting of Keftyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sektu (*šk-tw*) ships of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together with great trees for the [—] of his majesty (*there follows a concluding list of tribute from Cyprus, Kush, and Wawat*). BAR II 490-92

On the whole the Annals for the 34th year comport well with the content of the Chronicle. Something has clearly happened to deprive Menkheperre of access to Retenu. Though the name of Retenu appears in the Annals for this year, it is the last such mention until 600 B.C. Every year since his initial conquest of the country in 616 B.C. Menkheperre has received tribute from Syria and Lebanon. But in 604 B.C. this source of revenue disappears. As we will soon see, the Annals next reference to Syria occurs during the 14th campaign in the king's 39th year, 600 B.C. Then, suddenly, the Egyptian army is again in Retenu and tribute from Retenu reappears. This four year interruption in the receipt of tribute from Retenu is inexplicable in a 15th century context. But in the late 7th century we understand perfectly what is happening.

For at least five years following 605 B.C., Menkheperre appears to be confined to the coastal area of Zahi. Egypt made its yearly visits to this Phoenician coastline via the Mediterranean. The increased emphasis on shipping which begins this year is precisely what is anticipated based on the record of the Chronicle. With the loss of tribute from Syria Menkheperre turned his attention to the lucrative Mediterranean market. As long as Egypt controlled the Phoenician coastline there remained access to coastal lumber and the considerable wealth which depended on Phoenician ships. It is significant that in 605-604 B.C. we notice in the Annals for the first time a reference to a fleet of ships and tribute from Cyprus.

We receive no assistance for this year from Amenemheb's journal, which moves directly from the elephant hunt of the previous year to the renewed conflict with Kadesh in the 42nd year of Menkheperre. The silence for this year is not entirely unexpected. Amenemheb was an important army officer. He would not be part of the Carchemish garrison which alone did battle with the Babylonians.

March/April 604 - March/April 603 B.C.

Nebuchadrezzar's 1st year /Menkheperre Annals (Year 35) - the 10th Campaign

Table 9: The 1st Year of Nebuchadrezzar
(Wiseman Summary of the Babylonian Chronicle)

Nebuchadrezzar 1st Menkheperre Piankhi 35rd 10th campaign	Mar/April 604 Apr/May 604 May/June 604 June/July 604 July/Aug 604 Aug/Sept 604 Sept/Oct 604 Oct/Nov 604 Nov/Dec 604 Dec 604/Jan 603 Jan/Feb 603 Feb/Mar 603	 Nebuchadrezzar & army to Hatti lands in Sivan (May/June). Marched unopposed until Kislev (Nov/Dec). All kings of Hatti lands come before Nebuchadrezzar & bring tribute. " " Nebuchadrezzar moves south & plunders Ashkelon in Kislev. Its king is taken captive. Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon in Sebat (Jan/Feb).

There is little to say regarding the year 604/3 B.C. According to the Chronicle Nebuchadrezzar spent most of his 1st official regnal year solidifying his hold on the Hatti lands, apparently marching about unopposed. It is apparent that he continued to control Syria, since in the fall of the year 604 B.C. he moved still further south to lay siege to the city of Ashkelon, near the border of Egypt. Perhaps the move was strategic. Ashkelon lies on the narrow land corridor leading from Egypt to Syria. Controlling this region would restrict altogether Egyptian land access to the Lebanon and Retenu. Ashkelon fell in the month Kislev (Nov/Dec). The city was ruthlessly sacked and looted. It was left a heap of rubble.

The Annals for this year record a 10th campaign for Menkheperre, restricted to the same Zahi region he occupied the previous year. In Zahi he was again forced to suppress rebellion, engaging an unnamed enemy in battle and carrying off loot in consequence.

It is imperative that we comment on this battle. It has been badly interpreted by Breasted and others, who consider the incident as

descriptive of a "revolt in Naharin" and an ensuing "battle in Naharin". This is not the case. We should read the Annals carefully.

> Year 35. Behold, his majesty was *in the land of Zahi (Ḏ3-hy)* on the tenth victorious campaign.
> When his majesty arrived at the city of Araina (*3-r3-y3-n3*), behold, that wretched foe [of Nahar)in ([*N-h-r*]*y-n3*) had collected horses and people; [his] majesty — — — — of the ends of the earth. They were numerous — — they were about to fight with his majesty.
> Then his majesty advanced [to fight] with them; then the army of his majesty furnished an example of attack, in the matter of seizing and taking. Then his majesty prevailed against [these] barbarians by the souls of [his] f[ather] A[mon] ----- of Naharin (*N-h-r-n3*). They fled headlong, falling one over another, before his majesty.

The record proceeds to document a "list of booty which his majesty brought away from *these barbarians of [from] Naharin*". The list consists of two items: two suits of armor and some bronze objects, whose description is obscured in the damaged text. This is followed by a "list of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from (*name illegible*)". Breasted assumes this second list continues the first, and that the battle was fought in the Euphrates region. But this interpretation ignores the text of the Annals, which states clearly that the battle was fought at the city of Araina in the land of Zahi. Menkheperre is apparently putting down rebellion inland from the coast, as he had the year before.

The repeated introduction to the two lists of booty suggest how the Annals for this year should be interpreted. Araina, whose precise location is contested, is apparently situated in the extreme north-east of the coastal region still controlled by Egypt. Sensing the tenuous nature of Egyptian sovereignty in the area the prince of the city - referred to in the Annals as the "wretched foe of Araina (not Naharin as Breasted translates - both names have similar endings and the ending is all that is visible)" - has chosen the opportunity to secure his independence. In preparation for the anticipated retaliation by Egypt he has apparently solicited assistance from elsewhere - "horses and people (troops)" from "the ends of the earth", the latter a reference to the region of Naharin, as we have previously noted. The Naharin mercenaries are almost certainly not a contingent of the Babylonian army, else the Chronicle would have made

note of the battle. Regardless of their ethnic make-up, or their reasons for lending assistance, the fact remains that they were ineffective. In the battle of Araina they "fled headlong, falling one over another", leaving behind a few suits of armor and other objects. This cannot under any circumstances be a reference to the powerful "foe of wretched Naharin", retreating in cowardly fashion before a superior Egyptian army. In context it can only refer to mercenary troops or "soldiers of fortune" assisting the town of Araina in its rebellion against Egyptian authority.

The Annals clearly distinguish the mercenaries and the citizens of the rebellious city. The Naharin soldiers, having no vested interest in the city, flee at the first hint of danger, leaving behind a few pieces of armor. In their absence, the citizenry of Araina, left to fend for themselves, suffered extensive losses.

When Breasted, and others in the last century, read the name of Naharin in the text of the Annals for this year, they mistakenly assumed that this battle was fought in the region of Naharin. Thus the history books record the details of the 10th campaign of Menkheperre. But they are clearly wrong. Menkheperre begins his Annals for his 35th year specifically noting that he is in Zahi, near the Mediterranean coast. In that region must be found the city of Araina, and near that city must be located the scene of the battle. The historians cannot be faulted for their error. The text of the Annals for this year is badly preserved. And the historians do not have the benefit of the Chronicle to assist their deliberations.

We should mention, in defense of this interpretation, that there is precedent for the use of mercenary troops by Syrian cities. In fact, as we will see later in the Annals, an identical situation prevails in the 42nd year of Menkheperre, when Egypt attempts to regain a foothold in Syria. There we find, as in this instance, that troops from "wretched Naharin" were employed in defense of Syrian cities. But in the later incident they are specifically identified as "auxiliaries among them", and thus Egyptologists have correctly interpreted the situation.

One chapter remains to conclude our comparison of the Chronicle and the Annals through the balance of the military career of Menkheperre. Then

we will proceed to defend our thesis on other grounds. But before we move past the year 604/603 B.C. we should remark one more time on the implications of our thesis for the history of the Ancient Near East in the 15th century B.C. We are concerned one last time with the mention of the Mitanni, the Hittites, and the Aramaean Syrian princes in the Annals of Menkheperre.

The Mitanni Again

When Menkheperre crossed the Euphrates in 606 B.C. and fought the "wretched foe of Naharin" it was not specifically stated in the Annals that the reference was to the Mitanni. In fact, the Annals themselves never mention the Mitanni. The name is supplied instead by the Barkal granite stela and, among others, by a document we have not previously mentioned, a so-called "Hymn of Victory" contained on a black granite tablet almost two meters high discovered by Mariette in a chamber northwest of the main sanctuary room of Karnak. There we find an inscribed portrait of Menkheperre Thutmose bringing gifts to Amun, who responds in praise of the king:

> Thou hast smitten the hordes of rebels according as I commanded thee
> The earth in its length and breadth, Westerners and Easterners are subject to thee,
> Thou tramplest all countries, thy heart glad;
> None presents himself before thy majesty,
> While I am thy leader, so that thou mayest reach them.
> Thou hast crossed the water of the Great Bend of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) with victory, with might.

And ten lines later the eulogy continues

> I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in their marshes,
> The lands of Mitanni (*My-t-n*) tremble under fear of thee. BAR II 656-7

We have already stated our opinion that the lands of the Mitanni mentioned in the inscriptions from the time of Menkheperre are in reality references to lands controlled by the Median empire. The investigation of this claim is best left to the experts. Though we do not take credit for

the revelation[63], we are able to add some specifics which may assist, either in confirming this hypothesis or calling it into question. If we are right the Mitanni, allied with Babylon, sacked and destroyed the city of Nineveh in 612 B.C. and three years later, in 609 B.C., again in alliance with Babylon, drove Ashuruballit from Harran and the Assyrian Empire into extinction. We assume that prior to 612 B.C. the Mitanni controlled lands much further north of the bend of the Euphrates, lands bordering Hittite territory on the eastern extremity of Anatolia, i.e. the "northern Mesopotamia" of the textbooks.[64] Only in 609 B.C. did the Mitanni acquire the lands between the Euphrates and the Balikh River, a region formerly controlled by Assyria. And in 606 B.C. those newly acquired lands were lost to Menkheperre. This provides a very narrow temporal window in which we expect to find mention of this otherwise remote nation.

In 1928 the preeminent linguist W.F. Albright examined a fragment of a royal stele recently discovered in Palestine in which Menkheperre boasts of having "repelled the foreigners of Mitanni (so that it has become) as one that never existed."[65] The fragment does not bear the king's name, but was assigned to Menkheperre on a variety of grounds, among them one of particular relevance to our discussion:

> A clue to the date of our inscription is provided by the reference to Mitanni in line 3. *Nearly all the allusions to this country under its native name Mitanni occur in the inscriptions of Thuthmosis III.* The passages where the name Mtn occur in the inscriptions have been collected by Muller, *Asien und Europa*, 280 ff., and Burchardt, *Die altkanaanaischen Fremdworte*, No. 541 (emphasis mine)

We underscore Albright's claim that references to Mitanni abound in the inscriptions of Menkheperre Thutmose (alias Piankhi), and are infrequent elsewhere. We believe that the majority of these references must date between 609 and 606 B.C. An analysis of the lists provided by Muller and Burchardt would prove instructive, but would necessitate some

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[63]Cf. Immanuel Velikovsky, *Ramses II and His Time*, pp. 177-179.

[64]In maps of the Ancient Near East depicting the geography of the Assyrian Empire, Media is shown occupying the region north of the headwaters of the Diyala tributary of the Tigris River and east of Lake Van. The Umman Manda *may* well have inhabited this region, but that is not to say they were restricted to this area.

[65]W.F. Albright and Alan Rowe, "A Royal Stele of the New Empire From Galilee" JEA 14 (1928) 282

discussion related to the king's family, something we are not prepared to do at this time. The task is left for others.

The Hittites Again

When Breasted made the remark (quoted above in our discussion related to the 33rd year of Menkheperre) concerning the "*Hittites, who here make their first appearance in history*", he could not have been further from the truth. In the revised history the Empire period of the Hittites is long since past when the Annals were written. The time of Ramses II, and his famous battle at Kadesh with the Hittite king Hattusilis II, is ancient history. Far from being the first appearance of the Hittites in history, in 606 B.C. we are arguably nearing the end of the nation. In the next book in our series we will argue that the Empire phase of the nation ended around the year 765 B.C. Since then a Hittite remnant has persisted in the Hatti lands which lie between Carchemish and the Mediterranean. Another century or two and the Hittites all but disappear from history.

When scholars attempt to rewrite the history of the Hittites, as they must, they should look for links to the 9th and 8th centuries among the archives of the kings of the Empire period of this nation. An investigation of the Hittite inscriptions from the post-Empire period would also be interesting, but time consuming. Since it would detract from the task at hand, we leave the task to others. We are concerned here only to defend our proposal that the Hittites as a national entity existed in the late 7th century, precisely in the region designated as the Hatti lands in the Babylonian Chronicle.

The Aramaean Syrian States.

Throughout our discussion thus far we have said little regarding the ethnic make-up of the princes of Syria who inhabited the lands of Retenu and Lebanon and did battle with Menkheperre at Megiddo. We assume, based on a reference in the journal of Amenemheb mentioned earlier, and

another in the Annals[66] (which we have not previously mentioned), that they were Aramaeans, and if so, that they arrived in the area around the 10th/9th centuries B.C. Under no circumstances was this region of the country populated by Aramaeans in the 15th century B.C. The only historical source informing us of the ethnological and political make-up of Lebanon/Syria in the era from the 15th through the 7th century B.C. is the Hebrew Bible. According to Jewish historians, a political structure in which Aramaean city states existed in a loose confederation, uniting only for their mutual defense as in the battle of Qarqar in the mid 9th century, begins only after the time of David and Solomon. This evidence suggests that the Annals were written later than the 10th century.

On the negative side the evidence is equally compelling. In the 15th century B.C. the Hebrew Bible describes the occupants of Palestine and the Lebanon, at the time of the arrival of the Hebrews under Joshua, as a group of small ethnically divergent and semi-independant nations known as the Canaanites, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Amorites and Jebusites. (Joshua 3:10) The Hittites in this list are not inhabitants of Anatolia or northern Syria and, if related at all to the later national group, must be distant ancestors of the Anatolian kings. They are represented as dwelling in the Lebanon region, between the Euphrates and the Sea (Joshua 1:4). It is impossible to reconcile the testimony of the Hebrew Bible in this regard with the political situation described in the Annals of Menkheperre. Yet both supposedly describe 15th century Syria/Palestine. The date for the arrival of Joshua is based on internal chronological data. There is no good reason to doubt the validity of these references. The Annals are dated on the *assumption* that *they were authored by an early 18th dynasty king*, and *that this dynasty was founded at the beginning of the 15th century*. We challenge both of these assumptions.

The Annals and the Hebrew Bible cannot both be correct. Needless to say, Egyptologists have all too readily and far too glibly dismissed the evidence of the Jewish historians.

Is it possible at this late date to argue the case of the Syrian princes one

[66]When the Annals discuss the aftermath of the Battle of Megiddo in which Menkheperre defeated the three resisting cities of Lebanon, it mentions among the list of tribute "38 lords ([m-r'-y-]n') of theirs". The entire area was apparently occupied by Arameans.

way or the other. The answer is a qualified yes. Archaeology might well save the day. What is needed is an archaeological site which spans the centuries between the 15th century as described in the Hebrew Bible and the 7th century as described in the Annals of Menkheperre. And such a site does exist. Megiddo. A brief word of explanation must suffice.

If we are correct in our revision of history then the history of Megiddo, as recorded in the standard textbooks, is seriously in error. According to the Annals, as interpreted by the traditional history, Megiddo in the 15th century B.C. was a well fortified city apparently allied with the Syrian princes. In dictionaries and textbooks where the city is mentioned it is noted that Megiddo first appears in history in the Annals of Menkheperre. In evaluating the ruins of the city, excavated a number of times over the last century, archaeologists have begun their analyses of the excavation records by attempting to establish which archaeological strata corresponds to the 15th century destruction of the city wrought by Menkheperre. Needless to say, the history of the site is badly written, since it begins with a faulty premise.

We do not doubt that Megiddo is an ancient site. Joshua defeated a king of that city during the Israelite occupation of the country in the 15th century B.C. (Joshua 12:21) At the time, and for several centuries after, the town was occupied by Canaanites (cf. Joshua 17:12; Judges 1:27) That situation prevailed throughout the period of the Judges. Deborah and Barak, for example, confronted the Canaanites at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo (Judges 5:19). It was not until the time of David that the city came under Israelite domination for the first time and ultimately became one of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kings 4:12). But this biblical view of the city's history contrasts sharply with the statements of the Annals which compel us to believe that the city was occupied either by Aramaean Syrians or by Egypt in the 15th century. In the Annals the Canaanites are conspicuous by their absence.

This is neither the time nor the place to rewrite the history of Megiddo. We suggest that archaeologists reexamine the excavation records to determine whether the revised history or the traditional history best explains the evidence. In a later chapter we will look at only one critical phase of the city's occupation, a single anomaly in the archaeology of the

site that can be best understood on the assumption that the Annals belong in the late 7th century.

When, in chapter two, we discussed the famous battle of Megiddo and the seven month siege of the city which followed, we were concerned primarily with the political results, not with the destruction wrought on the city. In the third chapter, when we discussed Josiah confronting pharaoh Necho at Megiddo, our attention was focused exclusively on the time-line. By design we avoided asking the obvious question. Is it merely coincidental that Megiddo plays a central role in the two events, both of which are associated with the king Menkheperre Thutmose according to our revised history? In the traditional history the two incidents are separated by 800 years; in the revised history by only 7. Is it possible to find in the ruins of Megiddo evidence that a destruction of the city took place within the reign of Josiah?

Postscript

Throughout the first book of this series we noted the repeated intransigence of 20th century Egyptologists when confronted with evidence which contradicts long cherished views of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern history. If we seem to be belaboring the point when we devote four chapters of our book (inclusive of chapter five which follows) to a single theme, the reader should understand to whom we are speaking. The unbiased critic should already be convinced that the Annals of Menkheperre do not belong in the 15th century B.C. It is statistically near to impossible for the correspondences between the Annals and Chronicle, both temporal and political, to exist as they do unless the two documents are contemporary.

Chapter Five
Piankhi's Phoenician Empire

December 604 - December 601 B.C.

The Chronicle

When last we looked at the Chronicle, Nebuchadrezzar had assaulted and captured the city of Ashkelon near the border of Egypt.

> He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislev.
> He captured its king and plundered it and carried off [spoil from it ...] (lines 17,18)

It was November/December 604 B.C. The victory secured for Babylon control of the land corridor leading out of Egypt. In consequence the armies of Menkheperre were land-locked. According to the Hebrew Bible this state of affairs lasted three years.

> During Jehoiakim's reign, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon invaded the land, and Jehoiakim became his vassal for three years..... The king of Egypt did not ***march out*** from his own country again, because the king of Babylon had taken all his territory, from the Wadi of Egypt to the Euphrates River. 2 Kings 24:1,7 (italics added)

The siege of Ashkelon took place near the end of Nebuchadrezzar's 1st year. According to the Chronicle, in agreement with the Jewish historians, the Babylonian king roamed at will in upper and lower Retenu, west of the Euphrates, for the next three years.

In his 2nd year Nebuchadrezzar "gathered together a powerful army and [marched to the land of Hatti]" where he "marched about unopposed." In his 3rd year "the king of Akkad mustered his troops and [marched] to the Hatti-land and brought (back) much [spoil] from the Hatti-land into Akkad". Both comments are innocuous, but they are at least consistent with the testimony of the Hebrew Bible. It is rather in the 4th year that the two documents demonstrate their remarkable correspondence.

> In the fourth year the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. In the Hatti-land they marched unopposed.

> In the month of Kislev he took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt. The king of Egypt heard (it) and mustered his army.
> In open battle they smote the breast (of) each other and ***inflicted great havoc on each other***. The king of Akkad and his troops turned back and returned to Babylon. (lines 5-7) (emphasis added)

The battle with Egypt took place in the month Kislev (Nov./Dec), precisely three years after the siege of Ashkelon. Two pieces of evidence combine to inform us that Babylon did not fare well in the encounter. In the first place the Chronicle acknowledges extensive losses on both sides. In the second, Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon immediately following and did not exit his country the next year. Apparently he needed time to regroup.

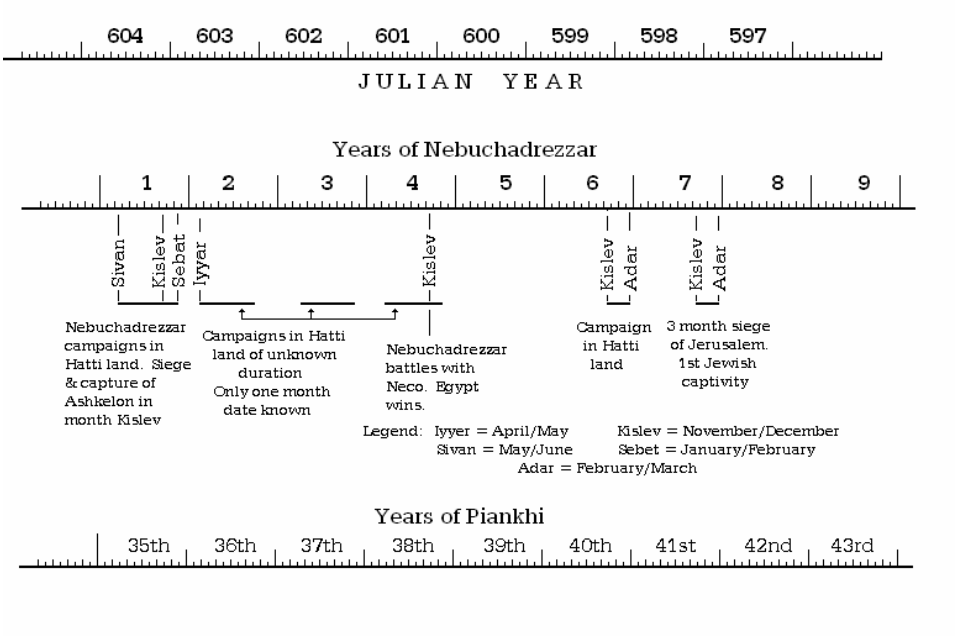
Jehoiakim was thus freed from the suzerainty of Babylon precisely three years after it began. And Egypt regained its freedom of access by land to its former Syrian territories. It was November/December 601 B.C.

It remains to be seen how well the Annals agree with this data.

To enable the reader to better follow the argument we reproduce below, from our earlier book[67], a timeline for Nebuchadrezzar's actions during the years 604-597 B.C., based partly on the Babylonian Chronicle and partly on the Hebrew Bible. We have added to the earlier figure the years of Piankhi, based solely on the timeline introduced in chapter two (see figure 4, page 27). These years, of course, correspond precisely to the years of Menkheperre Thutmose in the Karnak Annals, as the argument in chapters two through four of this book have already confirmed.

[67]See *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, figure 10, page 12.

Figure 10: Timeline – Nebuchadrezzar's Wars (604-597 B.C.)



The Annals

The three years following the siege of Ashkelon correspond to the 36th, 37th, and 38th years of Menkheperre, during which took place his 11th, 12th, and 13th campaigns. According to Breasted the Annals for the first two years are lost. We suspect they were not written. Menkheperre had little to boast about. If we are correct in our revised history of his reign he had no ready access to Zahi where his campaigns typically began. The land corridor leading from Egypt was denied him. His Mediterranean fleet was ill equipped to move tens of thousands of troops, not to speak of supplies, the considerable distance involved. At least not in the time frame given. We expect that Menkheperre spent these two years fortifying the Phoenician ports and otherwise preparing for the inevitable confrontation with Babylon. But this is all conjecture. Our only opportunity to compare the Annals and the Chronicle in this time period rests with the account of his 13th campaign.

As we expected, there is no mention of Retenu during the 13th campaign

in Menkheperre's 38th year (601 B.C.). This is entirely consistent with our argument that he had lost control of Syria in his 34th year (605 B.C.). It is, however, the first opportunity we have had to test this aspect of our thesis, since the annals for the 11th and 12th campaigns are missing.[68] It is therefore gratifying to note that Menkheperre failed to journey to Retenu. Instead he campaigned on the Phoenician coast south of Zahi, an area known as Nuges. We suspect, as we have just argued, that he has been preparing for this campaign for several years and has amassed by degrees an army sufficient for the task at hand. By moving south from Zahi he could regain the Lebanon in a pincer movement which would isolate the Babylonian garrison in the Palestinian region. Breasted summarizes the event.

> The king directs his attention to the southern Lebanon region of Nuges again, where he is obliged to subjugate the local princes, who controlled the road northward between the two Lebanons at the seaward bend of the Litany River. BAR II 506

Typical of the Annals elsewhere, the record here is nothing more than a summary statement of the campaign, followed by an extensive list of tribute:

> [Year 38. Behold, his majesty was in —] on the thirteenth victorious expedition. Behold, his majesty was overthrowing — [in] the district of Nuges (*ꜣn-yw-g-sꜣ*). List of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from the district of Nuges: ... (there follows a list of tribute) BAR II 507-509

Following this whirlwind raid into southern Lebanon Menkheperre returned to Zahi and continued to provision his coastal ports. There was little doubt that Nebuchadrezzar would respond to the recent provocation. The coastline must be secured and prepared for war.

> Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year, in going [northward or] southward; the impost of Lebanon (*Rꜣ-mn-n*) likewise; the harvest of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, green oil, incense, [win]e. BAR II 510

The Annals for the year conclude with mention of the tribute forthcoming

[68]Should the Annals of the 11th and 12th campaigns ever be found, we predict that they too will omit mention of any "tribute of Retenu."

from Egypt's ongoing Mediterranean ventures (Cyprus, Arrapachitis, Punt) and from regions south of Egypt (Kush and Wawat).

It is by now the fall of the year, harvest time. We assume the campaign to Nuges began early in the spring. Menkheperre returned to Egypt in October/November at the latest.

Thus far the Annals and the Chronicle are in perfect agreement. If the critic is wondering why the Babylonian assault on Egypt is not mentioned in Annals for Menkheperre's 38th year there is a ready answer. The 13th campaign was completed by October/November, as were all campaigns of Menkheperre. The attack by Babylon took place in the month Kislev (November/December), in the interim between the 13th and 14th campaigns

One or two months after Menkheperre left Zahi the anticipated reaction by Nebuchadrezzar commenced. In the month Kislev 601/600 B.C.) the Babylonian king "took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt." Menkheperre was ready. It was apparently a bloody battle, with extensive losses on both sides. Only in respect of the renewed access to Syria could this be deemed a victory for Egypt. We expect that if it were to be mentioned at all by the Egyptian king, its account would be brief. We cannot repeat too often that Menkheperre was loathe to publicize his losses. His attention was centered on the tribute gained from the battles waged. And the encounter with Babylon at the eastern border of Egypt resulted in extensive loss of life for the army of Menkheperre, and absolutely no tribute. In spite of these mitigating factors the battle *is* documented. Predictably it is mentioned in the Annals for the next year.

The Fallen Ones of Shasu

We are here still concerned with Piankhi's 38th year. But since the encounter with Babylon is mentioned in the Annals for his 39th year, we produce the beginning of the entry for that year.

> Year 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, **after** [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (*Šȝ-sw*). BAR II 517 (emphasis added)

Two things are clear from the wording of this brief but significant statement. In the first place a battle took place in the interim between the 13th and 14th campaigns which warranted this unprecedented mention by Menkheperre. And secondly, in the aftermath of this battle Menkheperre was able to re-enter "the land of Retenu", the first time that he has been able to do so since early in his 9th campaign. The only question remaining is whether this oblique entry does in fact refer to Egypt's encounter with Babylon. The time is certainly right. Only the identity of Egypt's opponent remains at issue.

Breasted, and virtually all scholars following him, considers that this Annals entry refers to "an excursion to punish the raiding Bedouin on the northeastern frontier of Egypt." There is certainly some warrant for this interpretation. There did exist late in the 20th dynasty a semi-nomadic ethnic group called the Shasu inhabiting a region near the eastern border of Egypt. The relevant inscriptions have been examined by Raphael Giveon. They describe incursions by the Shasu into the wadi Hammamat region of upper Egypt east of Thebes. Inscriptions found in the Sinai suggest that they inhabited that area.[69] According to Giveon....

> The last Egyptian documents dealing with the Shosu as an active factor in history are from the time of Ramses III. In his temple at Medinet Habu there are several reliefs showing them as prisoners of war, and as soldiers in the Egyptian army. Shosu, living in the region of Seir, in southern Transjordan, are mentioned as enemies of Egypt in the historical part of the Great Papyrus Harris. Papyrus Wilbour mentions allotment of land in a region not far from Oxyrhynchos, on a road connecting the Southern Oasis with the Nile Valley. ... It seems that the Shosu, along with other foreigners, were established in the region by the Egyptian administration at the end of the XIXth or the beginning of the XXth dynasty.[70]

Giveon goes on to argue, that by the late period of Egypt, the time of the 25th and 26th dynasties, this ethnic group has ceased to exist, and that the term Shasu has degenerated into a geographical reference.

> Other documents of the Late Period, like the "Oracular amuletic decrees" of the XXIst to the XXIIIrd Dynasties, and the Sanam list of toponyms from the time of Taharqa (XXVth Dynasty), *use the term "Shosu" merely for "East"*.[71]

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[69]Raphael Giveon, "The Shosu of the Late XXth Dynasty," JARCE 8 (1969-70)
[70]Ibid., p. 51.
[71]Ibid.,.p. 52

If Giveon's reasoning is correct, and if we have correctly identified Menkheperre as the 25th dynasty king Piankhi, then the mention of the Shasu in the Annals for this year must be understood as a reference, albeit an oblique one, to an encounter between Menkheperre and an unnamed enemy in the *eastern* extremity of Egypt or an unnamed enemy *from the Eastern country*. At minimum the statement, thus interpreted, is consistent with our hypothesis. Based on previous entries in the Annals we did not expect any more detailed account from Menkheperre, who is content to acknowledge the event as an historical fact. In the interim between his 13th and 14th campaigns he has fought a battle with a worthy opponent from somewhere in the east. For Piankhi this is enough said.

We could rest our case here but we choose not to do so. If we did the critic would no doubt argue that the interpretation provided by Breasted is equally possible, if not preferable. But that is not the case. It is improbable, if not impossible, that Egypt fought a battle against the Shasu in the 15th century B.C. We raise the following objections.

Initially we wonder why Menkheperre would even mention a battle against such an inconsequential group of migrants. Remember that this king is loathe to detail significant battles with the great nations of the Near East. Why preserve the memory of this otherwise nondescript band of marauders. Egypt must have endured hundreds of petty conflicts with marginal tribal groups on its borders. Why mention only this soletary encounter? And why does this mention occur as a preface to Menkheperre's entry (or re-entry) into the land of Retenu, as if it were a necessary prelude to that event? But there is an even more fundamental objection. It can be argued that the Shasu did not exist in the 15th century.

In no other document alleged to originate from the 18th dynasty of Egypt, with a single exception, is there any reference to "the Shasu". This alone should introduce a note of caution. If the Shasu are a significant enough group to warrant mention by Menkheperre as a worth adversary, then why are they ignored elsewhere in 15th century B.C. inscriptions. Why elsewhere do they emerge as a distinct ethnic group in Egyptian documents of the 20th dynasty and not before?

The single additional mention of the Shasu just alluded to is contained in the list of conquests inscribed on the chariot of Menkheperure Thutmose (IV), a king identified by traditional historians as the grandson of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre Thutmose. In this list Thutmose (IV) boasts of having conquered Naharin, Babylon, Tunip, Shasu, Kadesh and Takhsy. Needless to say the term Shasu, interpreted as a reference to a migratory bedouin tribal group, is out of place in this list, and the inscription has, accordingly, received considerable attention.[72] The only reasonable explanation for the term Shasu in this list, according to various interpreters, is to understand it as a reference to a country lying immediately "east" of Egypt, either Syria or Palestine. The first hypothesis derives from Giveon in various articles; the second explanation was proposed by Lorton in response to Giveon. Betsy Bryan, author of the classic treatment on the reign of Thutmose IV, entirely side steps the issue by referring the matter to an endnote:

> See Giveon's comment on this list [JNES 28 (1969) 56) , where he pointed out the northern emphasis - even Shasu at this time referred to Syria, according to Giveon - as a symbol of Egypt's northern frontier versus her southern one in Kush. This is also shown on the chariot. D. Lorton, reviewing Giveon's book on Shasu, in JARCE 9 (1971-72) 148 has suggested that in this context *Šꜣsw* = Palestine; for Lorton believed such a short list must have represented major nations + Egypt's Asian empire. There is no way to determine which interpretation is correct.[73]

We agree in part with all three Egyptologists. The Shasu reference of Thutmose IV must be interpreted geographically, no matter what region is intended by the reference to "the eastern country". But this

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[72]The reader will immediately recognize the other names in this list from the Annals of Menkheperre we have been reading. The critic will no doubt argue that this duplication of names proves that the Menkheperre who authored the Annals and the king Menkheperure who authored the chariot inscription were from the same time period. We agree. But as we argue below, and will argue again later in this book, the time period is the 7th century. This chariot inscription merely argues the fact that a king by the name Menkheperure Thutmose assisted Piankhi in his campaigns in the region of Naharin and Takhsy, and claimed the successes as his own. Egyptologists are adamant that the 18th dynasty king by this name did not conquer any of the regions or countries named in this list. According to Betsy Bryan, author of the classic treatment on the reign of Thutmose IV, "there is nothing to suggest Thutmose campaigned against any of these cities or peoples unless one accepts seriously a claim (by Thutmose IV) to have 'trod all difficult northern countries" and to have "overthrown all the lands of all the Fenkhu." [Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991) 340].

[73]Bryan, op. cit. p. 362, note 59.

understanding all but demands that the Annals reference to "Shasu" be interpreted similarly, thus creating a problem of considerable dimensions for the traditionalist historian, even if the problem is not discussed by any of the three named interpreters. How is it that the term Shasu is used consistently as a directional reference in the 18th dynasty, becomes an epithet of a specific nomadic tribal group in the 20th dynasty, and reverts back to a directional reference in the 25th and 26th dynasties? There is only one reasonable response to this question. We argue that both the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose and the chariot inscription of Menkheperure Thutmose were authored by 25th dynasty kings.[74] We argue further that the Shasu as a reference to a Bedouin group appeared in history for the first time during the 20th dynasty, and that the name quickly degenerated into a directional term by the time of the 25th dynasty. This tribal group did not exist in the 15th century B.C.

This added revelation that a king by the name of Menkheper**u**re Thutmose, a namesake of Piankhi, lived in the late 7th century will be the subject of discussion in the next chapter. It is not an entirely novel idea. In the last chapter we mentioned that many of Piankhi's extended family adopted names of 18th dynasty kings, a statement which remains to be proved. In the case of Menkheperure, information which suggests that he has been misplaced historically has been known for almost a century. As early as 1904 A. Erman argued that the primary inscription of this king, his so-called "dream stela", was inscribed during the 25th dynasty or

[74]We admit that there is a problem identifying the chariot in question with the 7th century. It was found in KV 43, the ransacked tomb of the 18th dynasty king Menkheperure. But that tomb had been violated and robbed at least twice, once late in the 18th dynasty and a second time, as we argue in a later chapter, in the 21st dynasty. The body of the king was removed by the 21st dynasty priests and later reburied in KV 35 as part of a cache of bodies (discussed elsewhere in this book). The tomb was emptied of all its remaining treasure at that time. When we argue in the following chapters that the 25th dynasty pharaoh Shabaka was a near relative of those same 21st dynasty priests, and that he stole the identity (and probably also some of the remaining grave goods of the 18th dynasty king) we may also assume that he used the vacated tomb to bury his own dead. The tomb contained only one body, "that of a boy which had been entirely unwrapped and was left resting upright against a chamber wall." [Betsy Bryan *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991) 191-92] We ask the obvious questions. Why were all bodies removed from this tomb by the 21st dynasty kings except this one? And why was the magnificent chariot of Menkheperure left intact and alone? We believe the body belongs to one of the sons of Shabaka who died early, possible in battle assisting his father as the latter commanded one of the army contingents under Piankhi. The chariot may have been used by the son. According to Bryan, this mummified boy was probably a son of Menkheperure who "perhaps pre-deceased his father." We agree, but we think the Menkheperure in question lived in the late 7th century.

beyond.[75] The argument by the great German scholar was thorough and irrefutable. It should have resulted in a reexamination of this king's place in history. But almost every explanation conceivable was given to the results of Erman's analyses except that which is most reasonable. Menkheperure's dream stela showed signs of being created during the 25th dynasty because it *was* created during the 25th dynasty. Its author was a 25th dynasty contemporary of Menkheperre Piankhi. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves. This is not the place to discuss the family connections of the 25th dynasty patriarch.

The battle with the Shasu was in fact a battle with the Babylonians. The Babylonian army employed by Nebuchadrezzar may well have consisted of conscripts from the Syrian towns recently subjugated by the Babylonian king. Hence the name *Shasu* in the Annals of Menkheperre.

There remains for us the task of examining the sequel to this conflict with "the fallen ones from the eastern country".

March/April 600 - March/April 596 B.C.

March/April 600 - March April 599 B.C.

There is very little to say about the 14th campaign of the 39th year of Menkheperre. Everything that should have happened, happened.

In the aftermath of the battle with Egypt Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon. According to the Chronicle he remained in Babylon during his 5th year, clearly licking his wounds and preparing for the next encounter with Egypt.

> In the fifth year the king of Akkad (stayed) in his own land and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers. (line 8)

Meanwhile Piankhi proceeded to reclaim Retenu for Egypt. We have already quoted the Annals but the fact bears repeating.

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[75]A. Erman, "Die Sphinxstele," SB 6 (1904) 428-37.

> Year 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (i.e. the East). BAR II 517

As stated earlier, the balance of the Annals for this year consists entirely of a list of the tribute of Retenu, resumed after a hiatus of five years.

The concluding entry records what is by now a yearly event, the re-supplying of Menkheperre's Mediterranean ports.

> Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each [year]; in going northward [or sou]th[ward] — — likewise; the harvest of [Lebanon] ------- [the harvest] of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, incense, oil, — s[ine] ----. BAR II 519

March/April 599 - March April 598 B.C.

After two years of preparation Nebuchadrezzar was ready to do battle once again. Late in his 6th year, in the month of Kislev, precisely two years after the disastrous stand-off battle at the border of Egypt, he returned to the Hatti-land. It was November/December 599 B.C.

> In the sixth year in the month of Kislev the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti land. From the Hatti-land he sent out his companies, and scouring the desert they took much plunder from the Arabs, their possessions, animals and gods. In the month of Adar the king returned to his own land. (lines 9,10)

It is apparent from the timing that Nebuchadrezzar waited to re-enter the Hatti lands until after the conclusion of the campaign season of Menkheperre. The strategy was successful. No encounter with Egypt is recorded.

In light of this entry in the Chronicle we expect that the Annals will record for this same year, the 40th year of Menkheperre, a 15th campaign to Retenu and Zahi. Assuming that Menkheperre followed his usual routine this campaign must have begun in the spring and concluded only weeks before Nebuchadrezzar returned to the Hatti land. Egypt must have occupied Retenu during the six month period from April to October.

The Annals should confirm the fact.

The wall space surrounding the Amun temple sanctuary was by this time filled and the Annals were continued elsewhere, on the back of Pylon 6 at the southern extremity of the temple. Very little of this Pylon remains standing. and the Annals preserved at this location are intermittent at best. What remains is not dated. Breasted has attempted to interpret the scattered remains so as to read into the record at this location an account of three campaigns. But he admits to a certain amount of guesswork. According to him all that remains of the annals of the 15th campaign of Menkheperre's 40th year is a "tribute-list of Cyprus and the impost of Kush and Wawat". But the names of Kush and Wawat are missing from the record. Breasted supplies them in his reading. There follows without pause further lists of tribute, beginning with that from Retenu and Kheta, then from Kush and Wawat. Breasted attributes these last four tribute lists (Retenu, Kheta, Kush and Wawat) to a 16th campaign. But we respectfully disagree. They lack the usual introduction and give every appearance of continuing the list of tribute which began with Cyprus. The mention of Kush and Wawat (which the annals typically place at the end of the yearly record) confirms our suspicion that the entire record thus far belongs to the 15th year.

It was an active year for Menkheperre, following up on his repossession of Retenu the year before. For the first time since his 8th campaign in 606 B.C. the Egyptian king clearly states that he reached the northern fringes of Retenu and again received diplomatic gifts from the Hittite king (something made of gold is all that is mentioned). It was to be the last intrusion of Piankhi into northern Syria. As we have already noted, a few months after the conclusion of this campaign Nebuchadrezzar was on the move again to the Hatti land.

Once again the Chronicle and the Annals complement one another.

March/April 598 - March April 597 B.C.

As we saw in our last section, Nebuchadrezzar returned to the Hatti land late in his sixth year, a month following the 15th campaign of

Menkheperre. His campaign continued until the month Adar following, February/March 598 B.C., only weeks before Piankhi typically lauched his campaigns. The two kings are apparently avoiding each other, Nebuchadrezzar campaigning in the winter (Kislev to Adar) , Menkheperre from the spring to the fall. The pattern continues through the next year, 598/597 B.C.

In March/April 598 B.C., the beginning of his 41st year, a month after Nebuchadrezzar's return to Babylon in the month Adar, Menkheperre initiated his 16th campaign. We assume this campaign is the one described on the 6th Pylon walls immediately following the lists of tribute we assigned to his 15th year.[76] Unfortunately no date is preserved in the Annals entry.

During this 41st campaign Menkheperre is forced to suppress rebellion in central Syria. We understand the cause. The return of Nebuchadrezzar the previous winter has emboldened Kadesh and other cities on the fringes of Zahi, and even Tunip on the coast, to challenge Egyptian sovereignty. According to the Annals:

> [Year 42 [*which we correct to 41*] ----- the Fenkhu ([*F*]*nḫ.w*). Behold, his majesty was upon the coast road, in order to overthrow the city of Erkatu (*ʿr-K3-tw*) and the cities of ----- Kana (*K3-n3*) -----; this city was overthrown, together with its districts.
> (His majesty) arrived at Tunip (Tw-np), overthrew that city, harvested its grain, and cut down its groves ---- the citizens of the army.
> Behold, (he) came in safety, arrived at the district of Kadesh (Kd-*šw*), captured the cities therein.
> List of the booty brought from there — ------ of the wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n3*) who were as auxiliaries among them, together with their horses; 691 people; 29 hands; 44 horses; -----.

There follows a list of tribute from six areas, including Tunip, Tinay, Kush and Wawat. The names of the other two regions are in damaged sections of the Annals and are not preserved. The harvests of several of these areas are mentioned, indication that the campaign extended into the fall. Included in these lists is the now ever-present reference to the supplying of the Phoenician ports:

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[76]It follows from what we have previously stated that Breasted assigns all of this material to the 42nd year of Menkheperre.

> Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year; the harvest of this country [likewise] ------ BAR II 535.

Nothing more need be said of this campaign except to repeat an observation noted in the last chapter, that auxiliaries from "wretched Naharin" assisted the cities of the district of Kadesh in their resistance to Egypt. These may or may not have been garrison troops left by Nebuchadrezzar to protect his interests in the Hatti lands. If they were Babylonians the Chronicle does not mention them, not entirely surprising since the Chronicler is concerned only with actions of the main Babylonian army.

We assume that the Egyptian army left southern Syria and the Phoenician coast in September/October of 598 B.C. Menkheperre likely journeyed by boat to Egypt. The bulk of the army would have used the land route through Palestine. It would be the last Egyptian army to do so for many years. A month or two later, on schedule in the month Kislev, Nebuchadrezzar returned to the Hatti land. And this time he moved south, as he had late in 604 B.C., to resume control of the land corridor out of Egypt. It is November/December 598 B.C.

> In the seventh year, the month of Kislev, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land, and encamped against (i.e. besieged) the city of Judah and on the second day of the month of Adar he seized the city and captured the king. He appointed there a king of his own choice (lit. heart), received its heavy tribute and sent (them) to Babylon. (lines 11-13).

This two month siege of Jerusalem (the city of Judah) is documented in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kings 24:10ff), and the deposition of its king, Jehoiakin, also receives considerable press. Jehoiakin was not long in office when Nebuchadrezzar invaded Judah. We recall that his father Jehoiakim had had a checkered career. He was installed in office by Menkheperre in 609 B.C. after the Egyptian pharaoh had deposed Jehoahaz, son of Josiah. For five years Jehoiakim's allegiance was to Egypt, until Nebuchadrezzar swept through the country to destroy Ashkelon in the month Kislev, 604 B.C. For three years following Jehoiakim paid tribute to Babylon. With the stand-off battle between Egypt and Babylon in the month Kislev 601 B.C. Judah once again became a vassal of Egypt. And three years later, probably only a month before Nebuchadrezzar invaded Judah, Jehoiakim died. He was replaced

in office by his son Jehoiakin. It was unfortunate timing for the eighteen year old king. In Kislev 598 B.C., a month after he assumed office, his capital was attacked by Nebuchadrezzar. Two months later, thus early in 597 B.C. the capital fell and Jehoiakin was taken captive and deported to Babylon. In his place Nebuchadrezzar installed Zedekiah as king.

Judah was once again a vassal of Babylon. More importantly, Egypt was once more denied land access to Syria and Zahi. But in this instance we are denied the opportunity to compare the Annals and the Chronicle in their discussion of the sequel to the story. For though the Chronicle continues on for four more years before the final tablet ends, the Annals terminate their discussion at this point. Abruptly the record stops.

A single line of text follows the mention of tribute from Kush and Wawat forthcoming from the 16th campaign. It alone belongs to Menkheperre's 42nd year.

> Behold, his majesty commanded to record the victories which he won from the year 23 until the year 42, when this inscription was recorded upon this sanctuary; that he might be given life forever. BAR II 540

Menkheperre Piankhi is by now an old man. He has reigned 42 years in Egypt. He is arguably over seventy years old. The latest action by Nebuchadrezzar, apparently uncontested, was perhaps an indication of Piankhi's lack of resolve. Egyptian coffers were full from twenty years of campaigning in Syria, Kush and Wawat. His opponent Nebuchadrezzar was a young man. His wars were just beginning. Thirty years later the Babylonian king would be fighting still, and would finally fulfill his ambition to conquer Egypt. But Piankhi was now old and tired and perhaps ill. Besides, Egypt still controlled Zahi and the Phoenician coast, access to which could be obtained by ship. And Piankhi still ruled a Phoenician empire which brought him yearly more wealth than he could possibly use. Time to retire from battling in Retenu.[77]

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[77]If Piankhi's reign in Egypt began in 638 B.C., as we have previously argued, then this conclusion to his wars in his 42nd year must be dated to the year 596 B.C. It will be argued in future chapters that Piankhi withdrew from Egypt at this time, making Napata his home. There he ultimately died. His burial in the Barkal cemetery near Napata attests the fact that Nubia was now his adopted homeland. We further argue that Shabaka, a near relative, and regional king in Memphis under Piankhi, assumed control of Egypt in Piankhi's absence. Thus the year 596 B.C. marks the beginning of Shabaka's reign in the absence of Piankhi, and thus the technical

Before we leave the Annals entirely we return one last time to the memoirs of Amenemheb. When we last left his memoirs, the venerable army commander was describing the elephant hunt near Niy which followed the conquest of Naharin in 605 B.C. Apparently nothing significant had happened in the seven years following, for his next entry describes the battles in the vicinity of Kadesh in 598 B.C. His comments related to the Kadesh incident are inconsequential. But two statements in particular are relevant to our discussion. The first relates to Amenemheb's promotion in the ranks which has taken place in the interim. He boasts

> I made this capture while [I] was an officer of the navy -----. I was the commander of [–] [his vessel] — I was the chief of his associates on the voyage — — — at his beautiful Feast of Opet, when all the land was in acclamation. BAR II 591

Apparently Amenemheb has been transformed from a field officer into a commander of the fleet of Menkheperre. Egypt, following its losses in 604 B.C., had turned increasingly to the Sea. Control of the Phoenician ports made Menkheperre the master of the Mediterranean. And Amenemheb, whose life was previously restricted to warfare on land, had become a naval commander. We will have cause to comment on this change of venue later.

A second comment is even more instructive. The final entry on the walls of Amenemheb's tomb concerns the duration of Menkheperre's life following the completion of the Annals in his 42nd year.

> Lo, the king completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valor, in [might], and in triumph; from year 1 to year 54, third month of the second season, the last day (of the month) under [the majesty of] King Menkheperre, triumphant. He mounted to heaven, [he] joined the sun; the divine limbs mingling with him who begat him. BAR II 592

Menkheperre Piankhi died at the end of the seventh month of his 54th year, around October/November of 584 B.C.. He was buried in a tomb near Napata in Nubia. In a later chapter we will comment further on the Napatan phase of his life. Twenty years after his death much of the

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beginning of the 25th dynasty.

treasure Piankhi accumulated in his campaigns would be lost to Babylon, as the armies of Nebuchadrezzar engulfed Egypt. But that story has already been told in the first book of our *Displaced Dynasties* series.

The Phoenician Empire of Menkheperre

Fenkhu = 8th/7th Century Phoenicians

We have several times already noted Egypt's increasing involvement in Mediterranean commerce, an enterprise which began with the conquest of the port cities of Zahi as early as 609 B.C. (Menkheperre's 29th year). In that year there is reference to the capture of ships harbored at Tunip. Two years later we find Menkheperre supplying the harbors with material goods and two years later still, in his 33rd year, we are informed that this was done "according to their contract of each year." Apparently Egypt has reached a treaty agreement with the coastal inhabitants. In the Annals for the next year there is reference to a fleet of ships from various coastal cities visiting the port cities controlled by Menkheperre.

> Behold, all the harbors of his majesty were supplied with every good thing of that which his majesty received in Zahi, consisting of Keftyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sektu ships of cedar laden with poles and masts, together with great trees for the [–] of his majesty. BAR II 492

Menkheperre, while sovereign of the coastal people, was also dependent on them for his growing Mediterranean trade. In that same 34th year, 604 B.C., Egypt received tribute from Cyprus for the first time. About this time also Amenemheb was promoted to commander of the fleet. Egypt's attention is increasingly focused on the Sea, the source of immeasurable potential wealth for Menkheperre. Small wonder that Retenu, while remaining a significant source of revenue, was becoming less and less important to the Egyptian king..

Who are these inhabitants of Zahi, who populate cities as far north as Tunip and as far south as Byblos, who are distinguished in the Annals from the Arameans who populate the regions of Upper and Lower Retenu east of the Lebanon Mountains? Only twice do the Annals identify them by an ethnic title. In the aftermath of the battle of Megiddo, where they

are referred to as accomplices of the Arameans, and in the year 41 inscription on the 6th Portal at the Karnak temple which we have just read, they are called "Fenkhu".

There is only one possible identification of the Fenkhu historically. Only one people by this name ever populated the eastern Mediterranean coast in the pre-Christian centuries. We know them as the Phoenicians. But in using this name we risk being accused of an anachronism. For according to the traditional history, based on extensive documentation in the Hebrew Bible, the Phoenicians as a seafaring nation, inhabiting the eastern Mediterranean coast at the same time that Arameans populated the Syrian hinterland, existed only in the 10th through 4th centuries B.C. There is not a scrap of physical evidence for the existence of a people by this name, in this region of the world, in the 15th century B.C., apart from the Annals of Menkheperre and other documentary sources contemporary with the Annals. And we assign all of these inscriptions to the 7th century.

When the history books discuss the inhabitants of Zahi in the 15th century they inevitably speak of them as Canaanites. The precise relationship between the Canaanites and the classical Phoenicians is much debated. We have no interest in engaging that debate. Needless to say we consider the question to be moot.[78] Only one period of Phoenician history concerns us at the moment. We date the Annals, and thus the "Phoenician Empire" of Menkheperre Thutmose, at the end of the 7th century. We are therefore concerned exclusively with the history of the 7th century Phoenicians. And our only concern is whether an Egyptian king by the name of Menkheperre Thutmose was allied with the Phoenicians at this late date.

Phoenician history from the 10th century onward is reasonably well

[78]If we are correct in our dating of the Annals the Phoenicians did not inhabit the Mediterranean coastline in the 15th century B.C. It is only because the Annals refer to the inhabitants of Zahi as Fenkhu, and because those same Annals are considered to be the literary product of the 15th century, that Phoenicians and their Canaanite ancestors (if indeed the Canaanites are the ancestors of the Phoenicians) are located along the eastern Mediterranean coast on maps of the Ancient Near East for the 15th century. The historical error is yet another disastrous result of the same confusion which created the mythical Mitanni and the 15th century Hittites in Anatolia. The error will be corrected only when the Annals are finally acknowledged as a 7th century inscription.

documented. Many references to the activities of Phoenician kings occur in the Hebrew Bible and in neo-Assyrian documents of the 9th through 7th centuries B.C. Memories of significant events in Phoenician history were also passed down in folkloric sagas and were recorded by historians centuries after the fact. According to the combined testimony of these sources the most significant event in the life of this people was the colonization of the Mediterranean coast which began in the late 9th century at the earliest and continued through the 7th century B.C., an expansionist movement motivated by the growing threat of conquest by Assyria, and then Babylon. Most notable of the Mediterranean colonies founded by the Phoenicians during this period was Carthage.

Finds From the Tombs of Carthage

According to Donald Harden, the excavator of the city, Carthage was founded by Phoenician sailors in the final years of the 9th century, 814 B.C. according to one tradition.

> The 814 tradition is soundly based and, despite the doubts of some modern scholars, seems to fit the archaeological and historical facts reasonably well. The earliest pottery, in Punic tombs and in the lowest stratum of the Tanit precinct, including Cintas's 'little chapel', can be placed in the eighth century without any distortion of typology.[79]

The interested reader can follow the story in any of the standard works on Phoenician history. There we are told that a Phoenician lady named Elissa, a great-niece of the infamous Jezebel, wife of Ahab king of Israel, set out for Carthage via Cyprus, to seek sanctuary on the North African coast. Whether the story is reliable or not, there is no question that "Carthage, once founded, flourished greatly and seems soon to have become the leader of the Phoenicians in the central Mediterranean ..."

In spite of the historical connection with Ahab, which seems to legitimize somewhat the eighth century etiology, many scholars question the tradition, favoring instead a mid-to-late 8th century time frame for the founding of Carthage. Even Harden, one of the few stalwart defenders of

[79]Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians*, p.66

the traditional date, agrees that "the first historical action taken by Carthage which is recorded is the foundation of a colony at Ibiza in 654-653 B.C."[80] If the city was founded in the late 9th century, its floruit did not occur until the mid-7th century.

We choose not to enter the debate concerning the foundation date of Carthage. Whether in the late 9th century or in the mid-to-late 8th century, the fact remains that the establishment of a necropolis for the city must post-date the founding of the city by many decades, and the contents of the graves of the early Phoenicians at this location must date, for the most part, to the 7th century B.C. and beyond. It follows that these graves, as well as those at other contemporary Phoenician sites around the Mediterranean world, should not be filled with mementos of Egyptian kings of the 18th dynasty and earlier, including multiple artifacts naming Menkheperre Thutmose. But the fact is - they are! Inscribed relics excavated from Phoenician sites on the mainland coast of Zahi, and scarabs found in the graves of Phoenician colonists at Carthage, agree in confirming our suspicion that Menkheperre Thutmose was a 7th century pharaoh. This evidence clearly warrants our attention.

At minimum artifacts excavated at Phoenician sites on the mainland give credence to our thesis. At least two fragments of bas-reliefs and 15 scarabs belonging to Menkheperre have been found at the sites of Byblos and Sidon, attesting the presence of, and suggesting the notoriety of, the Egyptian king.[81] The excavators of these relics reasoned correctly that they could only belong to the king by that name whose repeated campaigns in Phoenicia are extensively documented in the Annals. In consequence these reliefs and scarabs are dated to the 15th century B.C. But none of these artifacts were found in clearly defined strata. Their dating is based solely on the *assumption* that the Annals are the creation of an 18th dynasty king and the further *assumption* that the 18th dynasty ruled Egypt during the 15th century B.C. Neither of these assumptions have ever been validated.

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[80]Ibid., p.67

[81]Maurice Chehab, "Relations Entre L'Egypte et la Phenicie Des Origines a Oun-Amon," in Wm. A. Ward, ed. *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, p. 6: "Deux fragments de bas-reliefs et 15 scarabees de Byblos ou de Qaraye pres de Sidon, portent le nom de Thoutmes III, qui remplit de ses exploits la premiere moitie du Xve siecle."

If we are to firmly date the artifacts bearing the name of Menkheperre Thutmose what is needed is a clearly defined and specifically dated context. Thus the importance of Carthage where numerous scarabs of Menkheperre Thutmose have emerged in various 20th century excavations of the necropolis.

Pierre Cintas, one of the foremost authorities on the archaeology of Phoenician sites, in his classic *Manuel d'Archeologie Punique*[82], begins his analysis of the scarabs and amulets excavated from Carthaginian tombs by remarking on the astounding number which bore names of Egyptian pharaohs supposedly long dead when these tombs were constructed. For Cintas, as for all subsequent interpreters of the Phoenician evidence, there was no alternative but to consider these objects as amulets.[83]

Included among the "amulets" in the tombs of Carthage were many bearing familiar names from Egypt's illustrious past. To quote Cintas:

> Such are the scarabs - numerous - with the names of Mycenerius (3rd millinium B.C.), of Amenemhet III (1850-1800), *of Thutmose III (1504-1450) especially*, and of Amenhotep III (1405-1370) or of Seti I (1318-1298), which, for different reasons, have long been looked up to (by the supplicant) for support.[84] (italics added)

It is the considered opinion of Cintas that the scarabs found at Carthage were treasured for reasons other than their antiquity and the mystique which attaches to ancient objects. *Rather, these "amulets" were of recent construction.*

> It is clear that those found at Carthage, like all scarabs found at Carthage moreover (and this point cannot be too strongly emphasized) *have been fabricated only a very short time before they were taken into the tomb....* All the

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[82]Pierre Cintas, Manuel d'Archeologie Punique, vol. 1 (1970). See particularly chapter 4, "Les Donnees Archeologiques de Carthage.".

[83]Il y a, en effet, deux series differentes de scarabees a Carthage, a considerer ces objets en fonction de l'indication documentaire qu'ils peuvent fournir. La premiere est constituees par tous ceux qui portent les cartouches royaux de personnages de temps si anciens qu'il ne peut pas etre question de les considerer autrement que comme des amulettes ordinaires don't les vertus protectrices dependent du nom sacre qui est grave sur elles. p. 443

[84]Tels sont les scarabees - nombreux - aux noms de Mykerinos (3e millenaire avant notre ere), d'Amenemhat III (1850-1800), de Thoutmes III (1504-1450), surtout, et d'Amenophis III (1405-1370) ou de Seti Ier (1318-1298), qui, a des titres differents, ont de tout temps ete tenus pour de puissants appuis.

> scarabs from Carthage that we are concerned with at the moment are of the style of the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. and not that of the second millenium. *In consequence this first series of scarabs provides (us with) no specific chronological information.*[85] (italics added)

It is incredible that this opinion has remained largely unchallenged by scholars in the decades since the excavations at Carthage. Incredible, that is, because it makes absolutely no sense. According to this theory Phoenician sailors, probably illiterate, but certainly unable to read Egyptian hieroglyphs, and equally likely ignorant concerning the life of the pharaoh whose name was depicted on the scarab in their possession, purchased these amulets, newly made for the occasion, in hopes of deriving from them, whether in life or after death, some physical benefit. And in this hope the scarabs were included among the funerary artifacts of the deceased. The reasonableness of this theory can be challenged at several levels.

We wonder, in the first place, what criteria singled out for attention the names of these particular pharaohs, supposedly 600 to 1600 years after their deaths. According to the traditional history none of these kings, with the possible exception of Amenhotep III and Thutmose III, had any historical connection with the Phoenicians of the 7th century. And even in the case of Amenhotep and Menkheperre the connection was remote, since those kings were 800 years removed from the 7th century and their dealings were with the Canaanites, at best distant relatives of the Phoenician colonists. Mycerinus, one of the kings whose name is prominent in Carthage, best illustrates the problem. This king, successor of the 4th dynasty kings Khufu and Chephren, and the builder of the third (and smallest) of the great pyramids, was a distant memory, if a memory at all, in 7th century Egypt. His name is all but forgotten in his country of origin. How is it that it occurs so frequently in obscure Phoenician tombs two thousand years after his death?

We also wonder why these newly crafted scarabs, which suddenly appear

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[85]Il est clair que ceux qu'on a trouves a Carthage, comme tous les scarabees trouves a Carthage d'ailleus (et il ne saurait etre trop insiste sur ce point) ont ete fabriques tres peu de temps avant qu'on les ait mis au tombeau. .... Tous les scarabees de Carthage don't nous nous occupons en ce moment sont du style des IXe au VIIe siecles avant notre ere et non pas de celui du milieu du deuxieme millenaire. Cette premiere serie de scarabees n'apporte aucun renseignement chronologique precis, par consequent. p. 444

in the 7th century B.C. market place, found their way only into graves at Carthage, and not into graves on the mainland (nor, for that matter, into graves in Egypt). We are informed by scholars that the 15 scarabs bearing the name of Menkheperre Thutmose found during excavations at Byblos and Sidon, those mentioned earlier in our discussion, are the legitimate products of the 15th century, but that the identical scarabs found in Phoenician tombs at Carthage are instead the product of the 9th through 7th centuries. On what basis is this distinction made? We are not informed. But the distinction is made consistently.

Mycerinus is again a case in point. Chehab, whom we quoted earlier in reference to the name of Menkheperre on scarabs from the mainland, also discusses artifacts bearing the name of Mycenerius found at the identical locations:

> The name of Mycerinus, successor of Chephren, is one of the most frequently attested. It appears at Byblos on five fragments of vases, and a beam and a scarab. The beam bears the inscription "The Horus of gold, Mycerinus, who gives life and joy eternally.[86]

When scholars examine the artifacts belonging to Mycerinus found on the mainland there is no discussion of a possible "late fabrication". The fact that these artifacts include inscribed vases and an inscribed "beam" would seem to preclude that possibility. And thus the scarabs from the mainland are unequivocally dated to the third millenium B.C., while identical scarabs from Carthage are credited to craftsmen who lived during the 8th or 7th centuries. And the question is never raised, much less answered, how these Mycerinus' materials found their way onto Phoenician sites that were non existent in the third millennium. Excavators at Byblos have found no evidence that the city existed before the middle of the 2nd millennium, a thousand years after Mycerinus supposedly ruled Egypt.

And what are we to make of the dual occurrences of the name of Amenemhet III on the Phoenician coast and in Carthaginian tombs? Again the claim is made by scholars that the materials on the mainline are the legitimate product of the lifetime of Amenemhet, while similar items

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[86]Le nom de Mykerinos, successeur de Khephren, est un des plus attestes. Il figure a Byblos sur cinq fragments de vases, une barre et us scarabee. La barre porte l'expression: "L'Horus d'or, Mykerinos, qui donne las view, toute joie, eternellements.

from North African tombs are a fabrication of a much later age. According to Chehab:

> The kings of Byblos of the 19th and 18th centuries have pretended to be little pharaohs, writing their semitic names in hiroglyphs inside a cartouche, imitating a practice reserved for pharaohs in Egypt. These kings of Byblos, Abi-Chemou and his son Ip-Chemou-Abi, received respectively from the pharaohs (as gifts) the one an obsidian vase inlaid with gold bearing the name of Amenemhet III, a 19th century pharaoh, and the other an incense chest of the same material with the name of Amenemhet IV along with an unpolished vase also bearing the name of the pharaoh..[87]

It is disturbing that here again artifacts from a well defined context (Carthage) are treated as forgeries and dated to the 9th - 7th centuries while sundry materials from a poorly defined context (the mainland)) are confidently assigned a specific date in the 19th century B.C. This is a rather strange scientific procedure. And in this instance it introduces further historical error. Not only do scholars *assume* that the mainland materials belong to a 12th dynasty king named Amenemhet (ignoring the contradictory evidence from Carthage), but they use the arbitrarily assigned dates of this king to provide an historical context for two Phoenician kings, otherwise unknown. One historical error begets another. It is bad enough that Egyptian history is in disarray. Now, that errant history is used to position two foreign kings at least 1000 years before their time.

There is one final reason for rejecting outright this arbitrary and erroneous procedure. When we quoted Cintas regarding the scarabs from Carthage we emphasized his concluding remark: "*In consequence this first series of scarabs provides (us with) no specific chronological information*."

The error of that statement is obvious. The scarabs from Carthage do provide specific chronological information. The problem is that scholars

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[87]Les rois de Byblos aux XIXe et XVIIIe siecles ont joue au petit pharaon, inscrit leur nom semitique en hieroglyphes a l'interior d'un cartouche suivant un privilege reserve en Egypte au seul pharaon. Ces rois de Byblos Abi-Chemou et son fils Ip-Chemou-Abi recoivent respectivement des pharaons l'un vase en obsidienne serti d'or au nom d'un pharaon du XIXe siecle, Amenemhet III et l'autre un coffret a encens de meme matiere au nom d'Amenemhet IV, ainsi qu'un vase en pierre grise portant le nom du pharaon.

are unwilling to accept the information at face value. And nowhere is that unwillingness more apparent than in the artificial distinction that Cintas makes in classifying the scarabs from the tombs of Carthage. We note in this regard his reference to a "first series of scarabs" recovered at the site. When we continue to read his article we quickly discover that there was a "second series." In the Carthaginian tombs are found not only scarabs bearing the names of kings such as Mycerinus, Amenemhet (III), Thutmose (III), Amenhotep (III), and Seti (I), who in the traditional history lived from 600 to 2000 years before the founding of the city, but also multiple scarabs of kings of the 22nd through 26th dynasties which are traditionally dated between the 9th and 7th centuries. This second group of scarabs is interpreted differently. It is assumed that they are not amulets, but are instead the legitimate creation of the kings whose names they bear, and can therefore be used to date the tombs in which they are found. Though in some instances they sit side by side in the tombs with scarabs of the first group, they are differently conceived. There are two problems with this procedure. In the first place it is arbitrary. In the second, it leaves an obvious gap in the historical record. We leave the reader to form his own opinion regarding the first problem. The second requires a word of explanation.

The second series of scarabs belong, as stated, to kings from dynasties 22 onward. Other than those bearing the name of Menkheperre Thutmose they are by far the most common inscribed objects found in the necropolis. In the first book of our series we remarked on the fact that this second group of scarabs favors a lowering of the dates for the 22nd dynasty by upwards of 100 years. Here we are concerned with a different aspect of the problem. It is curious that this group of scarabs includes the names of multiple kings of dynasties 22-24 and 26, but omits entirely any reference to the pharaohs of the 25th dynasty. Did Egypt have no involvement with Phoenicia during the lengthy tenure of the 25th dynasty kings? Every pharaoh of the 26th dynasty, with the exception of the fictional Psamtik III, is represented at Carthage. Most of the important pharaohs of the late 22nd and 23rd dynasties are also attested, including such an ephemeral king as Pemay, whose reign lasted only a few years. Even the enigmatic Bocchoris, the sole occupant of Manetho's 24th dynasty, has left record of his existence at another contemporary Phoenician site. Where are the names of the 25th dynasty kings,

including Piankhi?

There is only one reasonable explanation for the gap in the historical sequence at Phoenician sites. The 25th dynasty kings must be represented by names not recognized by 20th century scholars. We know that Piankhi used the name Menkheperre Thutmose. We have consumed four chapters of our book proving that a king bearing this name engaged in a decades long contest with Babylon for control of the Hatti lands, at precisely the time when Piankhi ruled Egypt. All artifacts from Phoenician sites which bear this name, whether found on the mainland or in the tombs of the colonies, must belong to Piankhi.

But what are we to make of the names of Mycerinus and Amenemhet and Seti found in Phoenician contexts. Clearly they must be dated late. The tombs of Carthage postdate the founding of the city late in the 9th or early in the 8th century. Egyptian kings whose names are inscribed on objects in those tombs must have lived in or after the 8th century B.C. Either that, or some other credible explanation must be found for the resurgence of artifacts bearing their names. Where the identical king names occur on the mainland those finds, and the contexts in which they occur, should be dated by reference to the evidence from Carthage. There is no reasonable alternative to this explanation. It alone explains all of the evidence. There is only one conceivable objection on the part of the critic. Egyptian history as presently written argues against this notion. But we are in the process of revising that history. It is seriously in error.

The response of the critic is predictable. The revised history will be challenged either to prove the existence of pharaohs bearing the names Menkhaure (Mycerinus), Nibmaatre (Amenemhet III), Maatkharure (Amenemhet IV) and Menmaatre (Seti I) in the centuries following the foundation of Carthage, or to otherwise explain the presence of artifacts bearing their names. We have taken only the first step in answering the challenge. We have shown that Menkheperre Thutmose belongs to the late 7th century. The other names will follow in due course. As early as the next chapter we will begin to flesh out the history of the 7th and early 6th centuries, where multiple kings served under Menkheperre Piankhi, some of whom left proof of their existence in Phoenician tombs. In the 3rd book of this series we will continue this process, providing the

historical contexts for the Amenemhets and Seti.

We have spent considerable time demonstrating a remarkable correspondence between the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose and the Babylonian Chronicles of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar. The evidence from Carthage serves only to confirm what amounted to a statistical certainty, that the king who authored the Annals lived a century or so after, not seven to eight hundred years before, the building of the necropolis at Carthage. But this is just the beginning of our investigation. Further surprises are yet in store for the historian. But by now we have come to expect them.

Chapter Six
Aakheperure & Menkheperure

Duplicate Dynasties: the 18th & 25th

Preamble

Five chapters thus far have been consumed establishing that the Theban Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose are the product of the 25th dynasty predecessor Meriamun Piankhi. That objective has been achieved. Throughout our discussion we accepted without question that there were two kings by this name, a pharaoh who ruled over the 18th dynasty Empire, and his 25th dynasty namesake. Our attention has been focused exclusively on the campaigns of the later. Momentarily we must turn our attention, albeit briefly, to the earlier pharaoh. But before we do that we must expand our list of kings who borrowed names of illustrious predecessors. In the last chapter we already began the process.

The 18th dynasty king Menkheperre Thutmose is not the only 18th dynasty monarch whose life story is affected by our thesis. Hundreds of Egyptian monuments are demonstrably contemporary with the Annals, as attested by the fact that their inscriptions allude directly or indirectly to the campaigns described in the Annals. If the Annals belong in the 7th century then so also do these other monuments. But these sundry inscriptions have been used by Egyptologists, along with the Annals, to write much of the history of the 18th dynasty. If we are correct in our thesis, much of this history belongs to the 7th century!

The historical error extends to the intricate genealogy of the 18th dynasty kings. It is stated in the textbooks that the 18th dynasty Menkheperre was the grandson of a king named Aakheperkare Thutmose (I) and the son of a king named Aakheperenre Thutmose (II), that he had a step-mother named Maatkare (Hatshepsut), who ruled Egypt during his infancy, a son Aakheperure Amenhotep (II) and a grandson Menkheperure Thutmose (IV), all based on the assumption that the documents which reveal these family connections belong to the 15th century. If in fact they are contemporary with the Annals, as we claim, then it follows necessarily

that much, if not all of this genealogy must be transferred to the 25th dynasty patriarch Piankhi. We recognize the enormity of this claim and the difficulties inherent in proving it. But we have no alternative than to follow the evidence where it leads.

It is also clear from multiple inscriptions that many dignitaries served Menkheperre on his campaigns or in the administration of the vast treasure he brought back from those campaigns. Their tombs have been excavated and details of their lives, recorded in the memoirs inscribed on the tomb walls, have been woven into the fabric of the political and cultural history of the 18th dynasty. But all of these notables, including Amenemheb, who alone has appeared thus far in our revision, must belong to the 7th century, not the 15th. The cultural milieu in which these men lived, revealed in the colorful murals which accompany their memoirs, must be moved forward in time by at least 800 years. The implications of this claim for such diverse subjects as the history of art, archaeology (including pottery typology), the evolution of hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts, and assorted other cultural developments too numerous to mention, are far ranging. But by far the most serious ramifications are historical. And the historical errors have not simply to do with Egypt.

We have already witnessed the historical confusion at first hand - the erroneous assumption that an Anatolian kingdom of Hittites existed in the 15th century B.C.; the creation of an entirely fictional Mitannian kingdom based on references to 7th century Medians; the mistaken opinion that Phoenicians inhabited the Mediterranean coastline in the 15th century, and the errant assumption that Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms existed centuries before these nations made their entrance onto the historical stage. And these are but precursors of a much broader confusion which remains to be described..

Where do we start unraveling the error?

It is apparent at the outset that we must prove, minimally, that the genealogy typically credited to the 18th dynasty Menkheperre fits perfects in the 7th century, and does in fact belong to Piankhi. The balance of this book is devoted to that end. In the following chapters we intend to flesh

out the family connections of Piankhi, demonstrating that kings and queens bearing the names Aakheperenre, Maatkare, Aakheperure Amenhotep and Menkheperure Thutmose are all part of his extended family.

Duplicate Dynasties

It is clear from our stated objectives that our thesis has expanded significantly. No longer do we argue merely that a single 25th dynasty king (Piankhi) adopted the titulary of an illustrious predecessor from the 18th dynasty (Menkheperre Thutmose). We are now compelled by the evidence to assume that many of Piankhi's extended family did likewise, creating what amounts to a duplicate dynasty of namesake kings. The truth of this proposition must be established in the chapters which follow. But lest the reader be unduly skeptical, at the outset we need to clarify several points at issue.

In the first place we do not argue that the two dynasties are parallel in their extent. We do not claim that every 18th dynasty king finds his counterpart in the 7th century, nor that every 7th century king adopted the names of a member of the 18th dynasty. On the contrary, we will argue that several of Piankhi's contemporaries favored names of notable kings from other dynasties, contributing to the confusion which we are now attempting to unravel. Several times already we have remarked on the fact, long recognized by scholars based on extensive excavations in Nubia, that Cushite kings habitually adopted, with little or no modification, the throne names of Egyptian kings long dead. The fact that the 25th dynasty Menkheperre, and members of his extended family, favored the names of kings of the 18th dynasty, is hardly a matter requiring explanation. But in fact a compelling explanation is readily at hand, and will be provided in the following chapter.

It should also be made clear at the outset that the two dynasties are not parallel in their genealogical connections. The family relationships of the 7th century kings, which we are about to disclose, are not necessarily the same as those attributed to the 18th dynasty kings in the textbooks, even though many of the same names are involved and the respective

genealogies are based on many of the same documents. The reader should not be surprised. Even Egyptologists are not in agreement concerning the sequence of kings in the 18th dynasty. For well over a century scholars have been embroiled in a sometimes bitter feud concerning 18th dynasty genealogy, an issue the textbooks call the *Thutmoside Succession* problem. Not all scholars, for example, believe that Thutmose II is the father of Thutmose III, and at various times Hatshetsup has been considered to be the sister, the wife, and the step-mother of Thutmose III. It is our contention that one of the main causes of this disagreement are the source documents used by the contestants, some of which belong to the 18th dynasty, others to the 25th dynasty. Small wonder there is confusion, since the documents are describing different families. Another source of confusion is the ambiguity inherent in the Egyptian terms which describe family connections. As Alan Gardiner succinctly puts it in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, "the principal difficulty in dealing with Egyptian genealogical problems (is that) one never knows whether terms like 'son', 'daughter', 'brother', 'sister', and so forth are to be understood literally or not."[88]

It follows from what has been said that just because 18th dynasty history identifies Menkheperre as the father of Aakheperure and grandfather of Menkheperure, this does not mean that the 7th century kings who borrowed these three names were also related in like fashion. A similar ambiguity exists in family connections between earlier kings in the dynasty. The relationship between the 7th century kings who borrowed 18th dynasty names must be determined on an ad hoc basis. When we claim, as we did earlier, that much of 18th dynasty history, including the genealogy of its kings, belongs to the 25th dynasty, we are not implying that we simply have to transpose that history, as presently written in the textbooks, to the 7th century. We are saying only that much of the information on which that history is based, including the genealogical references, relates to the 7th century - nothing more, nothing less. In their new 7th century context the inscriptions will take on an entirely new meaning, as we have already seen in our extensive analysis of the Annals of Menkheperre Piankhi.

As we search for Piankhi's extended family, like himself namesakes of

[88]Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 178.

the 18th dynasty kings, we are immediately confronted with a problem. If indeed two sets of kings bearing identical names ruled Egypt centuries apart, how do we determine which documents belong to which dynasty? If we are to accurately rewrite 25th dynasty history we must be careful to use only 25th dynasty inscriptions. Our solution to this problem has already been suggested. We have demonstrated that the Annals of Menkheperre belong to the late 6th century. We must be careful to limit our analysis to documents clearly contemporary with the Annals, or unequivocally assigned to the 7th century on other grounds. Those documents at least must refer to 7th century kings.

Before we begin, we need to answer a question which must have come to the reader's mind in the course of these few remarks. If most of 18th dynasty history is about to be transferred to the 25th dynasty, what remains to illuminate the activities of the earlier kings. Indeed, how do we know that there even existed an earlier dynasty? For the most part we have no intention of addressing this question. An adequate response would lead us too far astray. Sufficient to say that there is no doubt of the existence of an 18th dynasty. Manetho includes a listing of its kings, albeit convoluted. They are also named in certain king lists. Additionally, many monuments exist which could, if time allowed, be clearly attributed to them. But most importantly, their tombs in the King's Valley have been discovered and extensively excavated over the past century. And their mummified remains now rest in the storage rooms and display rooms of the Cairo museum, where they were deposited immediately after their discovery in the final decades of the 19th century. It is most important that we examine those bodies before we proceed to examine the documents of their 7th century namesakes, this for two reasons. In the first place the skeptic must be convinced at the outset that there is reason to continue reading, that our hypothesis of duplicate dynasties is correct. And secondly, we need to be convinced that the documents we are about to examine, those which are contemporary with the Annals and which formerly furnished much of the history of the 18th dynasty, were not written by the kings now resting at peace in Cairo.

The Deir el-Bahari Cache and the Amenhotep Tomb.

The story of the 1881 discovery of the bodies of the 18th dynasty kings needs to be told, if only to draw to the attention of the reader several important facts related to their provenance. We listen to the story as told by the renowned Egyptologist Alan Gardiner.

> In the last quarter of our nineteenth century objects belonging to Dyn. XXI had long been finding their way into the antiquities' markets, and their abundance and evident importance made it clear that some of the inhabitants of Kurna had lighted upon a tomb or *cache* of an altogether exceptional kind. By 1881 official investigation could no longer be delayed, and G. Maspero, then Director of the Antiquities Service, took the matter energetically in hand. In course of time suspicion narrowed itself down to the 'Abd er-Rasul family. All attempts to make the finders divulge the secret failed until the eldest of them, realizing that this was about to be betrayed by one or other of his brothers, resolved to steal a march upon them. Hence the discovery of the wonderful hiding-place of so many of the royal mummies which has been partially described or alluded to in earlier pages of the present work. A deep shaft to the south of the valley of Der el-Bahri led down into a long passage ending in a burial-chamber which had been originally occupied by a half-forgotten queen Inha'py. Coffins, mummies, and other funerary furniture were found piled up in this inconspicuous burial-place, having been brought there after considerable peregrinations by successors of HriHor. Almost since the times of their actual burial the mighty kings of Dyns. XVII to XX had been exposed to violation and theft on the part of the rapacious inhabitants of the Theban necropolis, and it was only as a last frantic effort to put an end to such sacrilege that the high-priests of Dy. XXI intervened. This they could do with greater confidence since the golden ornaments and other precious possessions had long ago disappeared, so that little more than the coffins and corpses remained to be salvaged. However, for the modern world thus to recover the remains of many of the greatest Pharaohs was a sensation till then unequaled in the annals of archaeology; to be able to gaze upon the actual features of such famous warriors as Thutmose III and Sethos I was a privilege that could be legitimately allowed to the serious historian, though it was for a time denied to the merely curious. Besides the nine kings who were found there were a number of their queens, as well as some princes and lesser personages. Hieratic dockets on certain coffins or mummy wrapping disclosed the dates of the re-burials and the authorities responsible for them. More important from the purely historical point of view were the intact coffins of high-priests of Dyn. Xxi and their womenfolk, the hieroglyphic inscriptions furnishing no small portion of the material for the discussions contained in Maspero's fundamental monograph on the find. Among the latest burials were those of Pinudjem II and his already-mentioned spouse Neskhons. After them the cache was sealed up in the tenth year of the Tanite king Siamun, but was reopened once more in the reign of King Shoshenk I in order to inter a priest of Amun named Djedptahef'onkh. EP320-21

Included among the kings re-interred by the 21st dynasty priests at this location, in addition to Thutmose III, were three of his immediate 18th dynasty ancestors - his father Thutmose II, his grandfather Thutmose I, his great grandfather Amenhotep I – as well as Amenhotep's father, the famous Ahmose I, whose victory over Hyksos intruders is credited with reestablishing native Egyptian rule following hundreds of years of foreign domination of Egypt. Ahmose, in the traditional history, is considered to be the patriarch of the 18th dynasty kings. The tomb also included the bodies of Seti I and of his son and successor Ramses II, the 19th dynasty military genius whose fame exceeded by far that of Thutmose III in the ancient world. It is not without significance that the tomb was also used by the 21st dynasty priests to bury several of their own kings - Pinudjem I (whose body was found in a coffin belonging to the 18th dynasty king Thutmose I) and his grandson Pinudjem II. The mummified remains of several notable 21st dynasty queens were also present.

The sensational discovery of the Deir el-Bahari tomb (henceforth referred to as DB320, its official designation) was followed in short order by a remarkable archaeological "second find", important for our ongoing story notwithstanding the fact that the discovery involved only the remains of many 21st dynasty dignitaries. For reference purposes we reproduce Gardiner's summary of the discovery, which follows on the heels of his discussion of the previous find.

> In 1891, just ten years after the discovery above described, the same native of Kurna who had divulged the secret of the royal mummies pointed out to E. Grebaut, Maspero's successor as Director of the Service, a spot to the north of the temple of Der el-Bahri where a tomb of altogether exceptional importance could be expected. A few blows with a pick revealed a shaft leading to a gallery nearly 80 yards long followed by a rather shorter northerly gallery at a somewhat lower level. Here G. Daressy, placed in charge of the operations, came upon no less than 153 coffins, 101 of them double and 52 single, together with many boxes of ushabti-figures, Osirian statuettes of which some enclosed papyri, as well as other objects of lesser interest. Near the entrance the coffins were in utter disorder, but farther inwards they were stacked up against the walls in opposite rows leaving a passage-way in the midst. An innermost chamber had been reserved for the family of the high-priest Menkheperre, but later the galleries were used indiscriminately for members of the priesthood of Amen-Re. The actual mummy-cases were generally of anthropoid shape covered with polychromatic religious scenes and inscriptions finished off with a yellow varnish; for the historian they had little value except as giving the names and titles of their

> owners, among whom there were a certain number of women, mainly temple musicians. Of great importance, on the other hand, are the leather braces and pendants found upon the mummies, for they frequently depict the contemporary or an earlier high-priest standing in front of Amun, or another deity; and of perhaps greater interest are the legends often written upon the mummy-cloth, since these usually state the date at which it was made. Here, in a word, we have the primary source for the clarification of this complicated dynasty. EP 320-21

Seven years later, in 1898, only seventeen years after the opening of DB320, another cache of comparable importance was discovered in the King's Valley, this one also showing evidence of the involvement of 21st dynasty priests. In that year the French Egyptologist Victor Loret, almost by accident, stumbled on the remains of the long sought tomb of Amenhotep II, in which were discovered, in addition to the intact remains of Amenhotep himself, those of many of the 18th-20th dynasty kings omitted from the Deir el-Bahri cache. Here were found the reinterred remains of an additional 13 kings, whose names fill the pages of the textbook histories of their respective dynasties, Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, son and grandson respectively of the 18th dynasty Thutmose III, Merenptah and Seti II, 19th dynasty successors of Ramses II, and the three immediate successors of Ramses III of the 20th dynasty.

We will return to the Deir el-Bahri (DB320) and Amenhotep (KV35) tombs many times in the course of our discussions during the next several chapters. Their contents have been misunderstood and in consequence misinterpreted by scholars. At the moment we are concerned only with the bodies of the 18th dynasty kings recovered at these locations.

In the years immediately following the discovery of these two caches, the mummies of many of the 18th and 19th dynasty kings, and the artifacts associated with them, were carefully examined by archaeologists, Egyptologists and medical specialists. The physical remains were the subject of an intense anatomical investigation conducted in 1912 by G. Elliot Smith[89], and duplicated on an ad hoc basis over the next half-century. In 1972 the bodies were again examined collectively, using advanced x-ray technology, by the Egyptologist Kent R. Weeks and the

[89]G. Elliot Smith, "The Royal Mummies," Catalogue General des Antiquites du Egyptiennes du Musee du Caire, Nos. 61051-61100.

anatomist James E. Harris.[90] Several of the results of these investigations have been particularly troublesome for the traditional history, undermining as they do the credibility of the source documents on which 18th dynasty history is based. Particularly problematic for Egyptologists was the disparity between the physical remains of several of the 18th dynasty kings and the lives of those same kings as portrayed in the inscriptions supposedly authored by them. The remains of Thutmose I and Thutmose III are especially at odds with their lives as depicted in the textbooks. A few brief remarks concerning the bodies of these two kings is therefore in order.

Thutmose I

According to Weeks and Harris, in reference to the x-rays of Thutmose I:

> Egyptologists who have reconstructed the chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty from textual evidence generally have assigned a reign of ten years to Thutmosis I and have assumed that he died at about the age of fifty. However, several eminent physical anthropologists who have seen these x-rays have been absolutely convinced that this mummy is that of a young man, *perhaps eighteen years of age*, certainly not over twenty. Such an age is simply not compatible with the chronology of this period, and there does not seem to be any convincing explanation. *It is possible that the history of the period is in error*, that Thutmosis I was in fact a child-king whose reign was much shorter than is supposed. But the textual basis of the chronology seems fairly solid and not likely to allow such drastic revision. *It is also possible, as suggested by Smith, that the mummy labeled Thutmosis I is in fact the mummy of someone else*, perhaps mistaken for the king by later priests who re-wrapped his body. Or it may be the mummy of Thutmosis I, and he suffered from some disorder that delayed the normal maturation of the skeleton. Such disorders may have included those of nutritional origin (rickets), endocrinopathis (hypothyroidism), osteoporosis, and so on. It remains to be seen which of these explanations is correct. *But again, x-rays have cast doubt on the generally accepted reconstruciton of New Kingdom history.*[91] (italics added)

The doubts expressed by the two named scholars have apparently not been shared by the community of Egyptologists, who continue to assign to Thutmose I not just the 10 year reign mentioned in these summary

[90]Harris, James E. and Weeks, Kent R., *X-Raying the Pharaohs* (1973).
[91]Ibid., pp. 131-132

remarks, but up to twice that length. Alan Gardiner is a case in point. In his classic treatment of the *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, in complete disregard of the physical remains of the king, this influential scholar assigns the reign of Thutmose I to the years 1528-1510 B.C.[92] We understand the sentiment behind this action. The inscriptions are unambiguous in suggesting a moderately lengthy reign for this king. His many accomplishments, including the conquest of Syria, and repeated expeditions to Nubia, assume as a given that this king lived a lengthy and productive life. These must be acknowledged in any textbook story of his reign. And the mummified remains of the king, which stand at odds with this story, can all too easily be relegated to (entombed in) that ever expanding list of anomalies which the traditional history makes little or no attempt to explain.

The only reasonable interpretation of the x-rays of Thutmose's body is that proposed by our revision. The hieroglyphic inscriptions which refer to a king by the name Aakheperkare Thutmose are describing the actions of a namesake king, distinct from the 18th dynasty occupant of the Deir el-Bahri tomb. Needless to say, this possibility has never been raised, much less entertained by the community of scholars. But the 18 year old mummified body of Aakheperkare demands that conclusion. This body, in and of itself, all but confirms our hypothesis of duplicate names. And the likelihood rises to a virtual certainty as our investigation extends to the bodies of the other kings in the Cairo Museum, whose remains are equally at odds with their historical documents. We will defer the examination of these kings until the histories of their namesakes are incorporated into our 7th century history in the balance of this book. But since we have already concluded our treatment of Menkheperre Thutmose we will take time here to examine the body of the 18th dynasty king whose name he borrowed.

Thutmose III

It is most fortunate that the mummy of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre Thutmose was included among the remains preserved by the 21st dynasty

[92]Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 443.

priests in the Deir el-Bahari tomb. If we are correct these remains will bear little resemblance to the 80 year old king who authored the Annals.

In commenting on the mummy of Thutmose III, Weeks and Harris, in their 1973 publication *X-Raying the Pharaohs*, restrict themselves to a single innocuous comment, and let the matter rest.

> Thutmose III died after fifty-five years as king, on March 17, 1436 B.C., according to Hayes' calculations, although *the x-rays do not support such an advanced age*. p. 137-138 (italics added)

This terse comment, remarkable for its understatement, piques our interest and invites our further attention. Fortunately we are not restricted to this summary statement. Microfiche of the actual x-rays from the 1972 survey, together with extensive analysis and assessment, was published seven years later (1980) in *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, edited by Harris and the Egyptologist Edward Wente. The x-rays had in the interim been subject to intense scrutiny by pairs of anatomists, working independently, whose results were then compared and collated. The results of their analyses are worth noting.

Examination of the teeth of Thutmose III (dentition analysis), whose moderate wear (attrition) closely resembled that of the youthful Thutmose I, revealed that this king was around 35 years old at the time of his death. Separate analysis of the vertebral column (lipping, intervertebral spacing, epiphyseal union, long bone development), the shoulder girdle, and the pelvis, yielded independent and comparable results, confirming beyond all doubt that the body preserved in the Cairo Museum was that of a man whose death occurred between his 35^{th} and 40^{th} years. *Under no circumstances can these mummified remains be assigned to the king who authored the Annals and reigned 54 years over Egypt.*

It goes without saying that Egyptologists have attempted to minimize the age of Thutmose III in hopes of ameliorating the devastating results of the anatomical examinations. Wente himself is typical of this process, suggesting in the *X-Ray Atlas* that Thutmose may have become king as an infant only three years old, thus placing his death as early as his 57^{th} year. This strained interpretation focuses on the use of the Egyptian term *inpw* in reference to the youthful prince Thutmose in a document yet to be

examined, one which describes the circumstances which led to his enthronement. The argument is disingenuous at best, as we will soon see when we look at the beginnings of Thutmose's kingship in the next chapter and examine the inscription referred to by Wente. And even if Thutmose III did begin his reign at the age of 3 and died at the age of 57, there is still no possibility that the 35-40 year old mummy in the Cairo Museum belongs to him.

If Wente will not say it, let us say it for him, paraphrasing Weeks in his description of the body of Thutmose I (see above). The anatomically determined age of 35-40 years for Thutmose III is simply not compatible with the chronology of this period established from the monuments, and setting aside the strained exegesis of Egyptologists, there does not seem to be any convincing explanation for the discrepancy of 30 years between the lowest possible date of death of Menkheperre (70 years assuming he began his kingship at the age of 15), based on the monuments, and the 35-40 years assigned to his mummified corpse. With Thutmose III there is no possibility of discounting the textual basis of his lengthy kingship, well established by the Annals and the inscription of Amenemheb. And scholars are loathe to suggest, as they have done with the mummy labeled Thutmosis I, that the body represents someone else, perhaps mistaken for the king by the 21st dynasty priests who re-wrapped his body (though in all fairness many books place a question mark beside the name of Thutmose III in the list of remains forthcoming from DB320). There is only one possible explanation of the evidence. The monuments and the mummified remains belong to two different kings by the name Menkheperre Thutmose!

Having said that, we proceed with our stated objective, to identify the contemporaries and extended family of Menkheperre Piankhi.

Aakheperure Amenhotep

Back to Amenemheb's Tomb

When Piankhi invaded the delta in 616 B.C. he fought both with and against a coalition of kings and princes who ruled over various regions of

the north of Egypt. These included kings Peftjuawybast, Nimlot, Osorkon (IV) and Iupet, and many other notables, including a prince Pemou of Busiris and a Sheshonk, commander of the army of Busiris, whose names remind us of king Pemou and Sheshonk V, terminal kings of the 22nd dynasty. Prince Pemou and the commander Sheshonk must be related somehow to the royal family.[93] If we are correct in stating that Piankhi's Egyptian name was Menkheperre, and that within two years of suppressing the Tefnakht rebellion he began his Syrian campaigns as described in the Annals, then some of these kings must have assisted him in some fashion, perhaps commanding divisions of the Egyptian army. If so, then we expect to find some record of their military involvement among the extant monuments of the period. But we suspect that their accomplishments, like those of Piankhi, may have been wrongly credited to other kings, and for similar reasons, namely, failure on the part of Egyptologists to distinguish between namesakes on the monuments. In particular we are curious about the involvement of king Osorkon IV, who, along with Pemou and Sheshonk, must be related to Sheshonk V, recently deceased.

But if we are correct that other kings assisted Piankhi in his campaigns we must certainly look beyond the Annals for proof. The Annals, as we have seen, are focused narrowly on the tribute collected in Piankhi's campaigns, not on the campaigns themselves. The only Egyptian king specifically mentioned in that lengthy document is Menkheperre himself. It is thanks rather to Amenemheb the army officer, in his tomb inscriptions, that we were provided with insights into the day by day operations of the army. If other kings assisted Piankhi in his Syrian campaigns we might legitimately expect Amenemheb to record their names. With that hope in mind we return to Amenemheb's tomb in search of answers. The search ends immediately. The last lines of text we read from this tomb inscription recorded the death of Menkheperre Thutmose in that king's 54th year. Another nearby scene in the tomb provides a sequel to that story.

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[93]We are reminded by Breasted that "this mercenary commander from Busiris (Sheshonk) is subordinate to Pemou, prince of that city (l. 116). They are contemporaries, and neither bears royal titles; hence they cannot be identified with Pemou and Sheshonk IV [Sheshonk V in later numbering of the 22nd dynasty kings], the last kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Moreover, both Pemou and Sheshonk V held Memphis to the end of their reigns, but Memphis has for some time been held by Tefnakht, who was sem priest of Ptah there." BAR IV p. 423 note h.

In this scene we see a deceased(?) Menkheperre, standing and facing another king named Aakheperure Amenhotep, behind whom "appear Amenemheb and his wife bearing flowers and food". An inscription accompanies the scene. For the last time we quote from Amenemheb's journal:

> When the morning brightened, the sun arose, and the heavens shone, King Okheprure, Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), given life, was established upon the throne of his father, he assumed the royal titulary. He [—} all, he mingled with [—] in —, the Red Land; he cut off the heads of their chiefs. Diademed as Horus, son of Isis, [he] took ----- ------ [—]the Kenemetyew (*Knm.tyw*), every land, bowed down because of his fame; with their tribute upon their backs, [that he might grant] to them the breath of life." BAR II 808.

There is a further section of this inscription which will be quoted shortly, but first we must comment briefly on this segment. At first reading it appears to be describing the coronation of Menkheperre's successor in the days immediately following the funeral of his "father". This would, of course, be a reasonable interpretation of the text. Menkheperre has died; his son Aakheperure has immediately adopted throne names and assumed the kingship. The king is dead; long live the king.

But reasonable or not, Amenemheb's inscription must be construed otherwise. As we will see shortly, Egyptologists, with few exceptions, believe that the kingship of Aakheperure Amenhotep began during the lifetime of Menkheperre. There was a brief period of time during which the two kings ruled together, a coregency which will be described in more detail below. We agree entirely. This portion of the text must be understood as descriptive of the coronation of Aakheperure sometime before the death of Menkheperre. How much before remains to be seen.

But if the coronation took place before the death of Menkheperre Thutmose, thus establishing a coregency, then it should follow that the entire paragraph describes actions which took place during that coregency. There is no other reasonable interpretation of the text. Amenemheb is reminiscing. Having described the death of Menkheperre he continues on to highlight the accomplishments of one of the kings who ruled alongside him, beginning with an incident in which the neophyte king "cut off the heads" of some enemy chieftains, and how, resulting from his assorted military actions "every land bowed down because of his

fame." All of these activities should likely be dated before the death of Menkheperre. In due course we will examine them as they are described in other monuments.

Amenemheb's inscription continues without break, describing how the coregent king Aakheperure, soon after taking office, had taken note of his (Amenemheb's) physical prowess, and in consequence had appointed him "deputy of the army" in charge of "the elite troops of the king."

> His majesty noticed me rowing won[derfully] with him in [his] vessel; 'Khammat' was its name. I was rowing [with] both hands at his beautiful feast of Luxor, likewise to the splendors ---- . I was brought to the midst of the palace, one caused that I should stand before [the king, O[khepru[re] (Amenhotep II), ---- ---- [—}. I bowed down immediately before his majesty; he said to me, I know thy character; I was abiding in the nest, while thou wert in the following of my father. I commission thee with office that thou shalt be deputy of the army as I have said, watch thou the elite troops of the king.' The deputy, Mahu, executed (all)_ that his lord said." BAR II 809

If we are correct this commissioning marks the beginning of Amenemheb's life as a "commissioned officer" in the Egyptian army and is best equated with his promotion to the office of commander of the fleet, an event mentioned earlier in Amenemheb's journal. This assumes, of course, that the Egyptian navy was conceived as one branch of the army and that "deputy of the army" and "naval commander" are compatible terms. This promotion to commander of the king's fleet took place in Menkheperre's 34th year, a fact we argued in the last chapter, and the date provides a *terminus ad quem* for the coronation of Amenhotep and the beginning of his coregency with Menkheperre. It is important to note that nowhere in his memoirs related to the first eight campaigns of Menkheperre does Amenemheb describe his rank in the army, stating only that he fought in company with the king, as a follower of the king. We assume he was an able soldier, functioning probably in some leadership capacity, certainly a notorious fighter of sufficient renown to be noticed by the youthful Amenhotep, but that he possessed no rank or title worth boasting about. In the 34th year of Menkheperre, early in the reign of Amenhotep, his years of service were rewarded. It follows that Amenhotep became king several years prior to the 34th year of Menkheperre.

When these scenes and inscriptions in Amenemheb's tomb were first viewed by Egyptologists late in the 19th century, it was naturally assumed that they represented the 18th dynasty king Aakheperure Amenhotep II. The sequence of 18th dynasty kings on the king lists, particularly the list contained on the walls of Seti I's Abydos temple, had already established that a king by this name was the son and successor of Menkheperre Thutmose III. Since Amenemheb served two kings bearing these same names there could be no doubt that he and they belonged to the 18th dynasty. But if we are correct, and Menkheperre is Piankhi, then the Aakheperure Amenhotep depicted in Amenemheb's tomb must be a 7th century contemporary of Piankhi, though not necessarily a son. We have no choice but to argue that fact.

For the sake of the critic who wonders at the likelihood that two 7th century kings - Piankhi, and some unidentified (at least for the moment) contemporary of Piankhi - would adopt the names of a father and son from the 18th dynasty we repeat our earlier promise to explain, in the following chapter, the circumstances under which this selective borrowing took place. Only then can doubts on this issue be laid to rest.

We continue by repeating our caution stated earlier, that there is no need to assume that the Aakheperure Amenhotep depicted in Amenemheb's tomb is either the son or the successor of Piankhi. The father and son/successor relationship between the 18th dynasty kings derives from one set of monuments, the activities of the contemporary 7th century namesake kings derive from an entirely distinct set of monuments. The relationship between the later kings must be decided on other grounds. Even though Amenhotep refers to Menkheperre as his "father" in Amenemheb's tomb, uncertainty remains as to their actual relationship. Several times already we have mentioned that the hieroglyphic term here translated "father" need mean nothing more than "predecessor" (or in this case "associate" king) used obliquely to indicate kinship in office. It need not describe a familial relationship, though we do believe the two kings in this instance were related.

Before we attempt to refine our identification of Amenhotep we need to describe his life, hinted at in Amenemheb's memoirs, but described more fully in other inscriptions. If we are correct almost all of the monuments

which bear this name belong to the 7th century king (the most notable exceptions coming from the tomb KV35 and the mummy contained therein). But of course we will find them used in the textbooks to describe the life of the 18th dynasty successor of Thutmose III. It is important to note carefully what they say?

The Coregency of Aakheperure & Menkheperre

According to the monuments Aakheperure Amenhotep ruled in Egypt for at minimum 26 years. Since Thutmose III is assigned the years 1490-1436 B.C. (or thereabouts) in the traditional history, his son's independent reign is placed in the years 1436-1413 B.C., allowing for an overlap of around three years in the two reigns. This two or three year assumed co-regency is an accommodation by Egyptologists to explain the fact that on numerous monuments the two kings are named as associates in various building enterprises and are pictured together.[94]

We wonder at this insistence that the co-regency of Thutmose and Amenhotep was brief. We saw in the inscription of Amenemheb clear indication that Amenhotep began his reign at least as early as the 34th year of Menkheperre. This would imply that almost the entirety of his reign overlapped that of his "father". When we examine the figures of the two kings in the inscriptions which portray them as associates (see note 94

[94]Consensus on the fact of the coregency was reached early in the twentieth century. Alan Gardiner, writing in 1945, describes the two strands of evidence which lead to this conclusion: 1) the fact that Amenhotep's coronation date, known from a then unpublished stela discovered by Reisner at Semnah, differs from the date of death of Thutmose III recorded in Amenemheb's tomb, leading to the conclusion that he did not immediately succeed his father, and 2) the presence of the two kings together on various monuments. In explanation of the differing coronation dates he states: "But another possibility - it even amounts to a probability - is that Amenophis II had been associated on the throne with Thutmosis III for exactly four months before the latter's death. A brief co-regency has sometimes been supposed for these two kings [most notably Petrie, History, II, 135 and Breasted BAR II, 74 n. c] their names being several times placed opposite one another on the same lintel ..." JEA 31 (1945) 27. In a footnote to the second point he adds: "Besides the two doorways at Amada, there is a similar one in Thebes, tomb 42, The tombs of Menkheperrasong, Amenmose and Another, pl. 39: the prenomen Aakheper[w]re is there damaged, but op. cit. p. 34 Davies produced grounds for the belief that the name was that of Amenophis II, rather than of Thuthmosis I or II. But by far the most important evidence is that in the Theban tomb of Dedi (No. 200), where the two kings were shown enthroned and inspecting a military display together; see Porter & Moss Bibliography, I, 153, (3)(4)." Ibid, note 7.

above), the two kings appear as if the same age and of the same stature. The same holds true for the two kings pictured in Amenemheb's tomb. Yet on the assumption that Amenhotep began his kingship as a young man in the last two years of the reign of his elderly father, these pictures do not correspond to reality. And how, we ask, do Egyptologists explain how this "son", who was less than twenty years of age[95] when he ascended the throne in the last years of the life of Thutmose III, thus born to a father who must have been around sixty at the time, managed to succeed to the kingship. Surely Menkheperre had multiple older living sons who had prior claims to succeed him.

To these objections there is no explanation forthcoming from scholars, the majority continuing to maintain that the coregency lasted at most two or three years. But there is a significant minority opinion which agrees with the extended coregency argued above. As recently as 1965 the Egyptologist Donald Redford, arguing strenuously for an historical coregency amounting to "not more than a couple of years" nevertheless acknowledged that "an aberrant hypothesis" was to be found in some quarters "which asserts that Amenophis II ruled as coregent with his father for a fantastic twenty-five years or more."[96] There is no point in outlining the main points of the argument and providing our own input. If the scholars concerned disagree on the interpretation of the evidence, our opinion will add little to the discussion It is sufficient for our purposes to point out that the monuments can be construed both ways, arguing either for an extended or for an abbreviated coregency. The truth must ultimately be determined on grounds not considered by scholars. We have argued from one such source, Amenemheb's tomb, that the coregency began prior to Menkheperre's 34th year, necessitating a dual kingship of at least twenty years. When we have fine tuned our argument we will find that the adherents of the "aberrant hypothesis" were almost precisely correct.

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[95]According to a stele found near the Sphinx (see below p. 161) he was around 18 when he became king.

[96]Donald B. Redford, "The Coregency of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II," JEA 51 (1965) 107 According to Redford "the hypothesis which claims for Amenophis II a long coregency of a quarter-century or more apparently originated following Golenischeff's publication in 1913 of papyri 1116A and 1116B of the Hermitage, and was augmented by Glanville's publication in 1932 of the British Museum document 10056. It is important to note that the lengthy coregency had sufficiently widespread support in 1965 to warrant Redford's somewhat vituperative article in the prestigious *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

The Campaigns

In the traditional history Amenhotep II is credited with at least three campaigns. Stelae found in the temples at Elephantine and Amada refer to a Syrian campaign which reached as far as Takhsi in the trans-Euphrates regions. The duplicate monuments at these two locations are dated in the third year, third month of the third season, day 15 of the king, and provide a graphic account of what they refer to as the king's *first* campaign.

> Then his majesty caused that this stela be made and set up in this temple at the place of the Station of the Lord, engraved with the Great Name of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Son of Re: Amen-hotep-the-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, in the house of his fathers, the gods, after his majesty had returned from Upper Retenu, when he had overthrown all his foes, extending the frontiers of Egypt on the first victorious campaign.
> His majesty returned in joy of heart to his father Amon, when he had slain with his own mace the seven princes who had been in the district of Takhshi, who had been put upside down at the prow of his majesty's falcon-boat, of which the name is "Aa-hkepru-Re, the Establisher of the Two Lands." Then six men of these enemies were hanged on the face of the wall of Thebes, and the hands as well." Then the other foe was taken upstream to the land of Nubia and hanged to the wall of Napata, to show his majesty's victories forever and ever in all lands and all countries ... ANET247-48

Another pair of duplicate stela from Karnak and Memphis describe two additional campaigns which took place in the king's 7th and 9th years, referred to respectively as his *first* and *second* campaigns. The first describes an expedition which extended as far as the Orontes and resulted in the capture of several thousand persons, including 550 Mariannu Arameans. The second extended even further north into Syria, resulting in the capture of 89,600 men, including 15,200 Shasu (easterners), alluded to in our previous chapter. In the aftermath of this second campaign "the prince of Naharin, the Prince of Hatti, and the Prince of Shanhar[97] heard of the great victory" of the king and begged peace from his majesty.

It is instructive to note that Amenhotep's campaigns appear to cease at the conclusion of his 9th year. Though other documents attest his continued

[97]I.e. Senzar

reign in Egypt, the last dated in his 26th year, there is no further record of any military activity in Syria. This is precisely what we expect. It should be clear to the reader by now that we consider all of these campaigns to be identical to ones fought by Menkheperre. Amenhotep is merely leading a division of the Egyptian army and taking credit for victories won by troops under his command. In his Annals, Menkheperre claimed these same victories as his own. On the assumption that Amenhotep's reign began in Menkheperre's 31st year (see below), and overlapped the balance of that king's life, there exists a precise parallel between the three campaigns of Amenhotep and the 8th, 13th and 15th campaigns of Menkheperre. Since the campaigns of Menkheperre ceased soon after his 15th, we would be surprised if those of Amenhotep did not follow suit. A probable timetable for Amenhotep's campaigns, based on these considerations, will be provided momentarily. Pivotal to this chronology is the fact that Amenhotep fought successfully in Tahksi sometime prior to the erection of the Amada and Elephantine stelae in his third year. In the Annals of Menkheperre, the conquest of Takhsi took place during that king's 8th campaign. This was the only time in the reign of Menkheperre that the Egyptian army ventured that far north. The 3rd year of Amenhotep must coincide with that campaign.

We should interject at this point one note of caution. We assume in the discussions which follow, and particularly in the chronology provided for Amenhotep's campaigns, that all three campaigns belong to the 7th century king. But that is by no means certain, and this uncertainty attaches to much of what follows, including our tentative identification of Piankhi's associate. Egyptologists continue to question why two distinct campaigns of Amenhotep are referred to as his "first." Many explanations have been proposed, none gaining wide acceptance. It is entirely possible that the explanation can be found in our theory of namesake kings. Further research on this matter may one day confirm that the Amada and Elephantine stela were the creation of Piankhi's associate while the Memphis and Karnak stelae belong to the 18th dynasty king. But for the time being we assume otherwise.[98]

[98]If they belong to namesake kings our thesis is all but proved, at least with respect to Amenhotep II. However, many details of the discussion which follows must in that case be altered, including the identification of Amenhotep, which depends significantly on the provenance of the Memphis stela. If that stela, which contains an account of the campaigns of years 7 and 9, belongs to the earlier king, the proposed identification of Amenhotep is null and void. In that case he must be

Amenhotep the Sportsman

One final remark is necessary before we venture to identify the 7th century Amenhotep. One of the most characteristic features of this king, at least in his own estimation, was his phenomenal strength and superb athleticism. He boasts on the Amada stela how, "raging like a panther when he treads the field of battle; there is none who can fight in his vicinity." Single handedly he slew "with his own mace the seven princes who had been in the district of Takhshi." (ANET 247-8) But the prowess about which he boasts is not confined to the battlefield. On a stele discovered near the Sphinx at Gizeh he proudly lauds his strength and skill with a bow and his superior ability as an oarsman. And of peripheral interest, he expresses his paramount love of horses - shades of Piankhi!

> Now, further, his majesty appeared as king as a goodly youth. When he had matured and completed eighteen years on his thighs in valor, he was one who knew every task of Montu: there was no one like him on the field of battle. He was one who knew horses: there was not his like in this numerous army. There was not one therein who could draw his bow. He could not be approached in running.
>
> Strong of arms, one who did not weary when he took the oar, he rowed at the stern of his falcon-boat as the stroke for two hundred men. When there was a pause after they had attained half an iter's course, they were weak, their bodies were limp, they could not draw a breath, whereas his majesty was (still) strong under his oar of twenty cubits in its length. He left off and moored his falcon-boat (only after) he had attained three iters in rowing, without letting down in pulling. Faces were bright at the sight of him, when he did this.
>
> He drew three hundred stiff bows in comparing the work of the craftsmen of them, in order to distinguish the ignorant from the wise. When he had just come from doing this which I have called to your attention, he entered into his northern garden and found that there had been set up for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in their thickness, with twenty cubits between one post and its fellow. Then his majesty appeared in a chariot like montu in his power. He grasped his bow and gripped four arrows at the same time. So he rode northward, shooting at them like Montu in his regalia. His arrows had come out on the back thereof while he was attacking another post. It was really a deed which had never been done nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came out of it and dropped to the ground ... Now when he was (still) a lad, he loved his horses ... ANET 244

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identified as a son of Piankhi, hitherto unknown. There are no particular problems associated with that suggestion. In many ways it is the stronger of the two alternative proposals.

We mention Amenhotep's exceptional strength for a reason. It was our stated intention to contrast the mummified remains of the 18th dynasty Amenhotep found in tomb KV35 with the inscriptions belonging to his 7th century namesake. But in the case of Amenhotep we are unable to compare, whether favorably or unfavorably, the ages of the two kings, this for an obvious reason. We are not certain which king is referred to in the majority of the dated inscriptions which attest regnal years up to a 26th year. Though we assume that our 7th century king ruled that long, we may one day discover otherwise. But while we cannot compare their ages, we can compare their physical stature.

When Weeks and Harris examined the body of Amenhotep II they determined it to be that of a man slightly over 5 feet in height, around 45 years old at death and suffering from arthritis, although "this inflammation and degeneration of the vertebral column had not advanced to a particularly severe stage."[99] The body also showed evidence of having suffered from some "systemic disease."[100] "On his neck, shoulders, thorax and abdomen were small nodules" probably resulting from the king's extended ill health. While we cannot rule out the possibility that the debilitating disease and arthritis revealed by this autopsy developed later in life, this body bears little resemblance to the powerful and athletic king who authored the Sphinx stela. We leave the matter there.

Identity of Amenhotep

It is entirely possible that the 7th century Aakheperre Amenhotep was a son of Piankhi, a fact suggested by the most straightforward reading of Amenemheb's inscription. If we suggest otherwise in the discussion

[99]X-Raying the Pharaohs, p. 139.

[100]The anatomists whose opinions are recorded in the later *X-Ray Atlas* suggest that he suffered from ankylosing spondylitis. (p. 292). We should also point out that their estimates of age at death run from 35-45 years. Egyptologists adopt the larger number for obvious reasons. There does exist some remaining controversy regarding the age of this king. Wente and Van Siclen ("A Chronology of the New Kingdom" in Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes SAOC (39) 1977, p. 227-229) have argued for a longer reign length, up to thirty four years, based on "data pertaining to the royal jubilee and the datum of Thumose IV's inscriptions on the Lateran obelisk. In this case we begin to see some significant discord between the autopsy reports and the monuments. Even choosing the figure 45 years from the x-ray analyses does not eliminate the problem.

which follows, it is due entirely to the provenance of the Memphis stela on which Amenhotep discusses his 7th and 9th year campaigns, and to the known family connections of the Delta kings whom we assume assisted Piankhi in his invasion of Syria. A few comments on these two criteria are therefore in order.

The Delta Kings. In the first book of our series a revised chronology of the 7th century was arrived at by the simple expedient of lowering the dates of the 9th/8th century kings in the traditional history by 121 years. As a result, 22nd dynasty kings by the names of Sheshonk III, Pemay and Sheshonk V were assigned dates of 712-673, 660-654 and 654-617 B.C. respectively.[101] The *relative* regnal years of these kings are well established in the traditional history based on data preserved on several Serapeum stelae erected by the priests of Ptah of the Osiris/Apis cult in Memphis. But the absolute dates assigned them in the revised history may be off by a few years. For reasons that will become clear in a moment, we now suggest that the regnal years of the three named kings be changed to 714-675, 662-656, and 656-619 B.C. respectively.[102]

We also included in *Nebuchadnezzar*, without comment, the names and dates of the successors of Sheshonk V as provided by the Egyptologist D.A. Aston - kings by the name of Pedubast and Osorkon IV. While we agreed with much of Aston's chronology we reserved judgment on his listing of these terminal kings of the dynasty. In fact, we believe that Osorkon IV, not Pedubast (as listed in Nebuchadnezzar), succeeded Sheshonk V, and in this view we are in agreement with the majority of Egyptologists. If so, then Osorkon's dates should be 619-604 B.C., assuming he directly succeeded Sheshonk and reigned for 15 years, or earlier if the reigns of the two kings overlapped. In the revised history he must be the Osorkon who was ruling in Bubastis when in 619 B.C. Piankhi invaded the delta.[103]

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[101]See *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, table 8, p. 58.

[102]The absolute dates of the 22nd dynasty kings in the earlier book were admittedly an approximation only, and in need of some fine turning. Only the relative dates are sacrosanct. If it be admitted that the reign of Sheshonk III in the earlier table began several years before the date listed, then the reigns of Pemay and Sheshonk V must move back an equal number of years. There was no need to make any adjustment earlier, since the arguments being put forward did not depend on strict accuracy for these 22nd dynasty dates.

[103]The 619 date follows from our timeline in figure 4 on page 27. The great stela celebrating Piankhi's victory was erected early in 618 B.C. at the beginning of his 21st year. When we listed

The belief that the Osorkon on the Piankhi stele is Osorkon IV is by no means unique to this revision. That same identification is made by many, if not most Egyptologists. K.A. Kitchen in his *Third Intermediate Period* believes that this Osorkon may be related to the 23rd dynasty family of Rudamen, the father-in-law of Peftjuawybast, but he places him in the line of 22nd dynasty kings, following Sheshonk V.

If our dates are correct, and Sheshonk V died in 619 B.C., it follows that his death coincided with the beginning stages of the Tefnakht rebellion. Perhaps he was a casualty of that conflict. He is noticeably absent from the inscription on the great Piankhi stela. We assume he is recently deceased, and has just been replaced by Osorkon IV. It is possible, even probable, that the prince Pemou and the commander of the army Sheshonk named on Piankhi's great stele, both residents of Busiris, are his sons.

It is of considerable interest to us that Sheshonk V bore the prenomen Aakheperre, and at times employed the variant spelling Aakheperure. So closely do the two names resemble each other in the monuments that the Egyptologist Flinders Petrie once cautioned his readers to be wary, claiming that "many objects of Amenhotep II have been misattributed to this reign [Sheshonk's reign], as the cartouches are almost the same".[104] Were it not for the disparity in the assumed dates of the two kings we would immediately suggest that Sheshonk V is the Aakheperure Amenhotep whose identity we are seeking. If so then Amenhotep would have been his personal name. [Sheshonk, like Piankhi, is more a title than a name, one borne by at least five 22nd dynasty kings and an equal number of princes.] But we believe that the reign of our Aakheperure Amenhotep began in 608 B.C., over a year before the beginning of the 8th campaign of Menkheperre. The reign of Sheshonk V began 656 B.C. They cannot be the same king. But they might well be related.

Memphis Tomb of Prince Sheshonk: The second relevant piece of information relates to the Memphis stela on which Amenhotep discusses

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the date 617 B.C. for the Tefnakht rebellion in our earlier book we were providing only an approximate date, determined by reducing D.A. Aston's dates for the invasion of the delta by 121 years. That date was refined, ever so slightly, in our chapter one.

[104]Flinders Petrie, History of Egypt III (1905) 259. Petrie numbers this Sheshonk as Sheshonk IV, as did Breasted in the same time frame.

his campaigns of years 7 and 9. This stela was found in a tomb near Memphis identified by the excavators as belonging to a 22nd dynasty prince Sheshonk, high priest of Ptah in Memphis and son of a king Osorkon. The claim is made by A. M. Badawi, who published the inscription in 1943, that this Sheshonk was a son of Osorkon II and that the stele was "reused" by the priests who buried Sheshonk as a covering for the prince's grave-chamber within the tomb.[105] This is highly unlikely and we should be forgiven for being skeptical. In the context of the traditional history we must assume that the stele was preserved intact in another location for approximately six hundred years before being laboriously transported to the grave site of the 22nd dynasty prince for the sole purpose of covering a pit within his tomb. No family connection is known to exist between the crown prince Sheshonk and the 18th dynasty king Amenhotep. The excavators make no attempt to explain why a 15th century monument might be chosen by the tomb builders to cover the remains of a 9th century prince. According to them it was a random selection. The stele was simply an appropriately sized piece of masonry, reused for its utilitarian value. We disagree. Surely there must be an historical connection between the crown prince Sheshonk and the king Aakheperure. A possible explanation is provided by the revised chronology.

We begin by questioning the identification of the crown prince Sheshonk. In the third book of this series we will examine the sequence of high priests of Ptah in Memphis, long known from lists contained on a Serapeum stela and a monument stored in the Berlin Museum. We believe that this sequence of priests has been misplaced historically, a result of the same confusion which has displaced dynasties 22-26 by 121 years. In our third book we will demonstrate that the high priest Sheshonk lived in the 7th century, possibly in the final decades of that century. If so, then it should follow that he is the son of Osorkon III or IV, rather than Osorkon II.. And more importantly, this would make him a contemporary of Piankhi and of our second Aakheperure Amenhotep. Perhaps they were part of the same extended family. There is even a possibility that the high priest Sheshonk himself became king

[105]A.M. Badawi, "Die Neue Historische Stele Amenophis II," ASAE 42 (1943) 1. According to Badawi the stele was used "als Decke fur seine Grabkammer". Its precise location within the tomb is not specified.

Aakheperure Amenhotep. This would certainly account for the presence in his tomb of a stele bearing that name.[106]

Alternatively, our king Aakheperure Amenhotep might be another son of Osorkon IV. We have already noted that Osorkon IV was ruling in Bubastis in 619 B.C. when Piankhi invaded the delta. It is unknown precisely how long his reign continued after the suppression of the rebellion, but a reign length of a dozen years (619-608 B.C.) would agree favorably with the monuments. Though no successor of this king is named by the traditional history, it seems reasonable to conclude that he was replaced in office, whether by the high priest Sheshonk, or by another son or near relative. Either possibility would account for the presence of a stela of the Aakheperure in the tomb of the high priest. And if Osorkon IV was the son of Sheshonk V, as is likely, we are not surprised that one of his sons adopted as a prenomen a variant form of the name Aakheperre used by his grandfather. Tentatively, therefore, we suggest that the Aakheperure Amenhotep we seek was a son and successor of Osorkon IV.

If we are tentative in our identification of Aakheperure Amenhotep the reader should understand the fragile nature of the evidence. The traditional history simply terminates the 22nd dynasty at the end of Osorkon's reign, and that without explanation. The monuments for the late 22nd dynasty are ambiguous at best. We should not be held to a higher standard than the traditional history. We have at least provided a hypothetical solution to our problem.

Our tentativeness regarding the identity of the second Aakheperure

[106]The problems with this final suggestion are significant, but not insurmountable. Assuming that the second Aakheperure Amenhotep became king at the age of nineteen then he must have become high priest some years earlier. We argue later in this book and throughout the next that the high priests of Ptah took office very early, certainly by the age of 16. If so, then this Sheshonk was high priest for only a few years before being elevated to kingship to assist Piankhi. Then why in his tomb does he mention only his high priesthood and provide no indication of his kingship other than on the stele which covers his grave pit? There is one possible answer. In the following chapters we will be examining the priest/kings of the 21st dynasty. These high priests of Amun frequently held both the offices of "high priest of Amun" *and* king. Many of them were also army commanders. And in several cases, where their mummified remains have been examined, they ignore their kingships and document only their high priesthoods. This may also be the case with the high priest of Ptah Sheshonk. The excavation reports related to the Memphis tomb need re-examination to see if there are other indications that the tomb owner was a king..

Amenhotep does not extend to the chronology of his initial years. With some confidence we are able to date the activities of his first nine years in office.

Chronology of the Campaigns of Aakheperure Amenhotep

Two separate documents, a stele from Semneh and the document B.M. 10056, inform us that the reign of Aakheperure Amenhotep began on the 1st day of the 4th month of the Egyptian civil calendar. Since we have previously concluded that the first day of the civil year (Akhat 1) took place early in July of the Julian year, it follows that the coronation of Amenhotep took place early in the fall, around the beginning of October. And according to our calculations the coronation of the king must have taken place in the year 608 B.C. We therefore have a very specific date for the beginning of his reign – the beginning of October 608 B.C. The rationale for the selection of the year 608 is threefold:

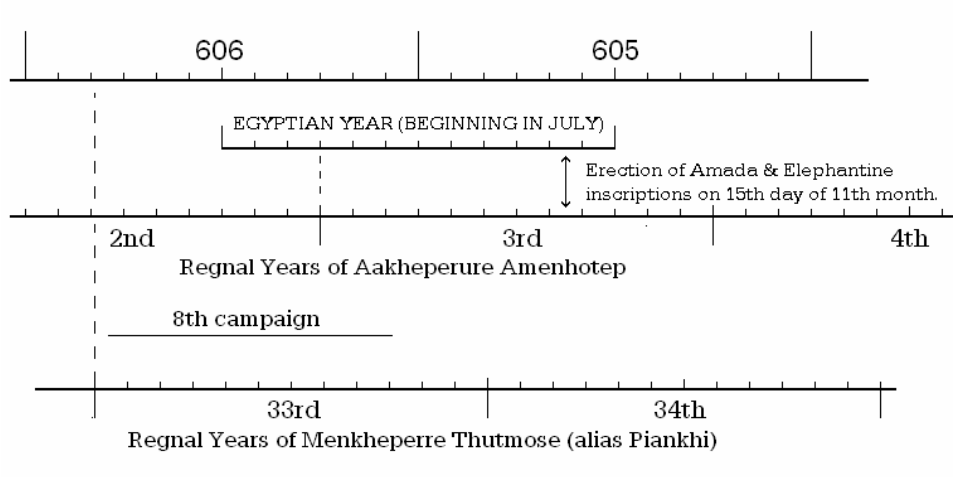
1) We observe that the 8th campaign of Menkheperre, and the campaign described in Amenhotep's 3rd year stele, closely resemble each other. On the assumption that the reigns of the two kings overlap significantly and that they must have fought together, these two campaigns provide the most reasonable synchronism.

2) Since the 8th campaign took place in the spring, summer and early fall of 606 B.C. the identical campaign described by Amenhotep must also have ended in the fall of 606 B.C. The end of that campaign must precede by at least several months the erection of the Amada/Elephantine stelae. Since the Amada and Elephantine inscriptions bear the date "15th day of the 11th month in the 3rd year" they must have been inscribed in May/June of 605 B.C.

3) Amenhotep's 3rd year must therefore span the time frame October 606 B.C. to October 605 B.C. and his first year must begin in October 608 B.C.

We summarize this data in a timeline in figure 11 below.

Figure 11: The 8th Campaign of Menkheperre
= the 1st Campaign of Aakheperure Amenhotep
(which ended in his 3rd Year).



If the above data is correctly interpreted and diagrammed, then we must date the campaigns described on the Memphis stela, those bearing the dates "year 7, 25th day of the ninth month" and "year 9, 25th day of the third month", to late March 600 B.C. and late September 599 B.C. respectively.[107] These dates should correspond to early in the 14th and late in the 15th campaigns of Menkheperre.[108]

[107]The most easily accessed English translation of the Memphis stele is that by John A. Wilson in ANET 244-47.

[108]There exists multiple problems interpreting the dates on the Memphis stela (and on a partial duplicate found near the 8th Pylon at Karnak). Unlike the Amada and Elephantine stelae where the year 3 date records the time when the stelae were inscribed and/or erected, the dates on the Memphis stela appear to relate to the actual campaigns being described. But if so, then the year 7 campaign seems to be a duplicate of the year 3 incident, where the Egyptian army reached Naharin and the city of Niy (i.e. the 8th campaign of Menkheperre). Since both campaigns are referred to in the respective stelae as the "first" of Aakheperure Amenhotep, this would not be problematic, except that one dates the incident in year 3 and the other in year 7. If they relate to two different campaigns, not only is there a problem with the king having two distinct "first" campaigns, there is the additional problem (for the revised history) of reconciling the data for the 7th year on the Memphis stela with the 14th campaign of Menkheperre (as must be the case). We must assume that on the 14th campaign Egypt again reached the Euphrates, though the Annals of Menkheperre do not specifically say so, stating only that this year, the 39th of Menkheperre, "Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (i.e. the East)." [BAR II 517] The reader will recall that this 14th campaign followed by months Egypt's victory over the Shasu (= Nebuchadnezzar's army). We might well expect that this tour of conquest would necessitate journeying as far as Carchemish to

There remains one other pharaoh to be examined before we take a retrospective look at the beginning of Piankhi's life and flesh out the history of the 7th century. In the first book of this series we noted that a king named Shabaka (the first of three 25th dynasty kings named by Manetho) acted on behalf of Piankhi in diplomatic dealings with Assyria prior to fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. We suggested at the time that he probably also commanded a division of Piankhi's army. If so then he must have attained royal status at least by Piankhi's 25th regnal year, though his reign could well have begun decades earlier.

According to the traditional history Shabaka was a brother (or son) of Piankhi. Herodotus tells us that he was responsible for killing Bocchoris, the son and successor of Tefnakht, thus placing his reign securely in the time frame covered by the Annals of Menkheperre. Surely this important king left record of his association with Piankhi and his involvement in Piankhi's wars. But as with other important kings of the period, Piankhi included, he may have used another name. In the next section we search for his name among the monuments.

Menkheperure Thutmose

The Dream Stele

According to the traditional history the 18th dynasty king Amenhotep II was succeeded by a son Menkheperure Thutmose IV whose reign lasted either an abbreviated 8 years or an extended 32 plus years. The longer reign length is supported by such notable scholars as Wente and Van Sicelen, based primarily, though not exclusively, on monuments which

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secure Egypt's renewed suzerainty in Retenu . Thus there is no fundamental conflict between the Annals of Menkheperre and the Memphis stela of Aakheperure Amenhotep for this year. There is no definite way of checking the year 9 data of the Memphis stele, since the 15th campaign of Menkheperre, to which it corresponds, is documented on the damaged and confusing sixth Pylon inscription which we discussed earlier. It is of some interest, however, that in the list of plunder obtained during the year 9 campaign the Memphis stele mentions 15,200 Shasu, this only a year and a half following Menkheperre's battle with the Shasu. We wonder if these prisoners are related to the earlier battle.

suggest that the king celebrated at least one heb seb (30 year) festival.[109] In our opinion there is no getting around the evidence supporting the longer reign length. Menkheperre ruled at least 30 years, probably much longer. Those who argue for the minimum figure are clearly influenced by the anatomical reports related to the mummy of Menkheperure. We will examine those reports shortly.

It is assumed that this pharaoh began his kingship at the death of his father, though in fact there is no evidence that this is so. The possibility remains that he ruled for a time as coregent with Amenhotep, more so if we accept the longer figure for his reign length.

One of the more prominent inscriptions attributed to this king is that contained on a stele found near the great Sphinx in 1818 by Caviglia, translated by Salt several years later and by others multiple times since. It's central theme is well known to those with even the most casual acquaintance with things Egyptian, due largely to well intentioned but mistaken attempts to relate this king to the time of Moses and the plague-ridden Exodus of Israel from Egypt. On this so-called "Dream Stele" Thutmose IV credits the god Re-Harakhte, the god of the sphinx, for elevating him to office, this in gratitude for Thutmose having cleared away the sand which buried the god's image. Portions of the inscription are worth noting. It is dated in "Year 1, third month of the first season, day 19, under the majesty of Horus ....King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheprure", i.e. in the first year of the king. This must be the date when the inscription was made. In the narrative which follows the newly crowned king celebrates his belated good fortune. From the language of

[109]Edward Wente and Charles Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Huighes* SAOC 39 (1977) 227-230. These scholars suggest a reign length of 33 years for Thutmose IV. In defense of this extended reign they state: "Besides the jubilee evidence in favor of a long reign for Thutmose IV there are some additional bits of information that would indicate that his reign was not a short one. There are statues of Thutmose IV seated, not with his queen as is normal, but with his mother Tiaa. At the time when he acceded to the throne, Thutmose IV was called an inpw, a term applied to young princes and kings who had not yet reached puberty. Yet by the time he died, this pharaoh had produced a rather large family, comprising at least seven sons and twelve daughters. During his years as king, Thutkmose IV had three queens, each of whom bore the title Great King's Wife. The Eighteenth Dynasty evidence seems to indicate that a king had only one Great King's Wife at a time, so that these three women must have held the title of principal queen consecutively. Another indication that Thutmose IV's reign was a long one is the large number of Theban tomb chapels that are assigned to his period. No fewer than nineteen tombs can be specifically dated to his reign ..."

the inscription there appears to have existed a lengthy period of time between the god's promise to the prince and its eventual fulfillment. It might be as long as twenty or thirty years. Thutmose may now be a middle aged man. He is certainly not the young man he was when the incident took place. His is a retrospective look back into the distant past.

Thutmose begins his narrative with an extensive list of epithets, and continues by documenting his carefree days as a youth, then probably in his mid to late teens, judging from the events he describes.

> When his majesty was a stripling like Horus, the youth in Khemmis, his beauty was like the protector of his father, he seemed like the god himself. The army rejoiced because of love for him, the king's-children and all the nobles. Then his strength overflowed him, and he repeated the circuit of his might like the son of Nut. Behold, he did a thing that gave him pleasure upon the highlands of the Memphite nome, upon its southern and northern road, shooting at a target with copper bolts, hunting lions and wild goats, coursing in his chariot, his horses being swifter than the wind; together with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it. Now, when his hour came on for giving rest to his followers, (it was always) at the [shoulder] of Harmakhis, beside Sokar in Rosta ... over aginst the lords of Khereha, the sacred road of the gods to the necropolis west of On (Heliopolis). Now,. the very great statue of Khepri, rests in this place, the great in prowess, the splendid in strength; upon which the shadow of Re tarries. The quarters of Memphis and all the cities which are by him come to him, (raising) their hands for him in praise to his face, bearing great oblations for his ka.. BAR II 813-14

One day, on maneuvers near the sand covered Sphinx, he paused to rest and encountered, as if in a vision, the god Harmakhis :

> One of those days it came to pass that the king's son, Thutmose, came, coursing at the time of midday, and he rested in the shadow of this great god. A vision of sleep seized him at the hour (when) the sun was in the zenith, and he found the majesty of this revered god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying: "Behold thou me! See thou me! My son Thutmose. I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum, who will give to thee my kingdom on earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown upon the throne of Keb, the hereditary prince. The land shall be thine in its length and breadth, that which the eye of the All-Lord shines upon. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, the great tribute of all countries, the duration of a long period of years. My face is thine, my desire is toward thee. Thou shalt be to me a protector (for) my manner is as I were ailing in all my limbs {—}. The sand of this desert upon which I am, has reached me; turn to me, to have that

> done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector; come hither, behold I am with thee, I am thy leader." When he had finished this speech, this king's-son [awoke] hearing this …; he understood the words of this god, and he kept silent in his heart. He said: "Come, let us hasten to our house in the city; they shall protect the oblations for this god … BAR II 815

Scholars are in agreement that Menkheperure is here taking a retrospective look back at his youth. But in order to maintain the fiction that his reign began as a young man, they suggest that the date on the inscription is incorrect. It is argued rather that Menkheperure is looking back on his youth from the prospective of a mature king, already many years in office, and that his kingship actually began only a few years after the dream he describes. Betsy Bryan. in her recent monumental work on the life of this king, provides the consensus view, reasoning that

> the Year 1 date is very likely fictitious with respect to the stela's erection. It might refer to the king's first clearance efforts in the vicinity. It would be difficult to believe that the excavation at Giza had been completed, as well as the royal constructions at Heliopolis and Memphis referred to in lines 1-3, in the first regnal year. The abbreviated form of the introduction suggests that a summary of activities in the north has been provided because of the overall theme of the inscription - the royal attachement to the sun god at Giza.[110]

With that "wave of the wand" interpretation the difficulty is removed from view, though it lacks credibility. In due course we will discuss the Memphis and Heliopolis activities of his king. Sufficient here to note that the references to these two cities in the "Dream Stele" consist of two innocuous epithets included among many with which Menkheperure begins his inscription. Therein he refers to himself as "(the one) who purifies Heliopolis" and "(the one) who beautifies Memphis", hardly the basis for disregarding the most obvious and the only reasonable interpretation of the inscription's date line.

A two fold conclusion follows from our brief examination of this stele. In the first place Thutmose, at the moment when he first conversed with Re-Harakhte, was probably not in line for the kingship, else we wonder why this story would ever have been told. And secondly, his kingship began a significant number of years after his dream experience as a youth. We should be careful not to read any more into his remarks than that.

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[110]Betsy M. Bryan, The Reign of Thutmose IV (1991)149

But if Thutmose was an adult, possibly middle aged, when he became king, and if he ruled 32 years in Egypt, then he must have been between 60-70 years old when he died. And this is a minimal figure. The physical remains of this king should confirm his lengthy life. But by now we have learned to anticipate an anatomical problem.

The Mummy of Thutmose IV

We have previously mentioned the fact that the lower estimates of the reign of Thutmose IV have been unduly influenced by the anatomical examinations of the mummy of this king, found by Loret in 1898 in KV35. Bryan has summarized the earliest findings, those resulting from Elliot Smith's investigation at the turn of the 20th century:

> Anatomical studies of Thutmose IV's mummy have been available since the early years of this century. G. Elliot Smith, who studied the royal mummies for the Cairo Museum, published two different estimates of the king's age at death. In 1903 and 1904 Smith suggested 25 as the most probable age. He described the king as "a young clean-shaved effeminate, and extremely emaciated man, 5 feet 6 inches in height". Through x-ray examination Smith learned that the epiphyses of the tibia were fully joined, indicating to him an age of at least 20 and probably more than 24. Because the epiphyses of the crest of the ilium were not joined, however, he felt the king could not have been more than 25 years. In 1912 Smith published the royal mummies for the Cairo Museum and had by then revised his conclusions. Since he had observed other examples of incompletely joined epiphyses of ilia, he believed it was not uncommon for Egyptians to exhibit a delayed union of epiphysis cristae. The results of a skiagram of the epiphyses of the vertebral border of the scapula showed an apparent separation. This led Smith still to support a low age estimate, though perhaps as high as 28. He concluded that the texture of bones should admit that Thutmose IV might possibly have been even older than this." It should be added, however, that Smith's assessment of delayed union has not impressed all modern radiologists, whose work on providing age at death has been built up from increasingly larger numbers of radiological projects. The comparative "bone-age" material continues to be, however, the modern population.[111]

The influence of Smith's early studies of Thutmose's body was pervasive. For much of the first half of the 20th century Egyptologists felt compelled to "downsize" the reign of Menkheperure, bringing it into harmony with

[111]Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, p. 9-10.

the anatomical evidence. The highest date of this king on the monuments, his eighth year, was selected as his optimum reign length, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. The date on the "dream stele" was conveniently set aside and the stele was interpreted as the product of the young king, nearing the end of his eight year reign, taking a look back in time to the circumstance which led to his kingship. According to this viewpoint Thutmose began his reign as a youth, not long after his slumber near the Sphinx, and died only eight years later. This opinion has prevailed to the present, with one recent development.

The 1972 re-examination of the royal mummies by James Harris and Kent Weeks has resulted in a slight increase in Thutmose's estimated "age at death". In the years following the 1972 study, two anatomists, Krogman and Baer, examined the x-rays, working independently, and their results were published by Harris and the Egyptologist Edward Wente in *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (1980). These two medical specialists concluded that Thutmose died slightly later than the figures suggested by Elliot Smith. In their estimation his death took place between his 30th and 40th years, though they preferred the median age 35. This left scholars such as Wente and Van Sicilen sufficient wiggle room to let the monuments speak for themselves. These two highly respected Egyptologists have recently argued that Menkheperure ruled at least 30 years, that he acceded to the throne while still an *inpw* (i.e. "youth") not yet having reached puberty (p. 230), and that in consequence his maximum age at accession was only slightly over 13 years (13 + x years), making his age at death a maximum of slightly over 46 years (46 + x years). It was felt that this maximum age accorded reasonably well with the anatomical evidence. But the manner in which they presented their argument disguised the inherent problem. The dateline of the "dream stele", and the language of that same monument, absolutely demand that the reign of Thutmose began when that king was an adult reasonably advanced in age, i.e., that a significant length of time intruded between Thutmose's dream and his accession to the throne. The "x" in Wente's argument is therefore a large number. That conclusion, and the fact that Wente's "maximum" should rather be construed as a minimum[112],

[112]We can scarcely imagine a youth under the age of 13 boasting of hunting lions and wild goats, racing a chariot pulled by multiple speeding horses in company with others, with strength comparable to the gods. We also wonder at the fact that he was beloved by the other king's

combine to argue much the same result as we outlined earlier. Thutmose began his kingship between 30 and 40 years of age and died at minimum 30 years later, between sixty and seventy years of age. Under no circumstances can the mummy from KV35 be the author of the monuments which speak of a heb seb festival. Only one reasonable conclusion follows naturally - there were two kings who bore this same name. The mummy belongs to the 18th dynasty. There remains for us to locate the second king historically.

The conclusion that there were two kings who bore the name Menkheperure Thutmose is not entirely dependent on the results of x-ray analysis. The same conclusion, with the added information that the namesake king was a contemporary of Piankhi and Aakheperure Amenhotep, follows naturally from the analysis of the "dream stele" by the eminent German Egyptologist A. Erman at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1904 Erman argued that the sphinx stele of Menkheperure was inscribed sometime between the end of the 22nd/23rd dynasty and the beginning of the 26th Saite dynasty, precisely where we have dated the king by this name.[113] The argument by the great German scholar was thorough and irrefutable. It should have resulted in a reexamination of this king's place in history. Instead many Egyptologists, including Erman, reasoned that the 15th century stele was recopied by priests about 800 years after his reign ended, and the copy was substituted at the site of the sphinx in place of the original. Breasted came to an identical conclusion about the same time. In the prelude to his translation of the inscription he remarks on how

> The form and content of the document are strikingly unlike the official or royal records of the Pharaohs. It is besides filled with errors and striking irregularities in orthography, and exhibits a number of suspicious peculiarities not to be expected in a monument of this class. It is therefore to be regarded as a late restoration. BAR II 810

Other explanations were provided by the community of Egyptologists for the apparently late orthography employed by the artisan who inscribed the monument,[114] but by far the majority agreed with Breasted and Erman.

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children, not to speak of the nobility and the army, if he was barely into his teens.

[113]A. Erman, "Die Sphinxstele," SB 6 (1904) 428-37.

[114]In a footnote Breasted underscores his agreement with Erman, but notes contrary opinion.

That understanding changed abruptly by the middle of the 20th century, when in 1937 a possible escape from the conundrum was afforded to scholars by the excavation, also from the immediate vicinity of the Sphinx, of the stele of Amenhotep II from which we quoted earlier.[115] In her recent analysis of Thutmose's stele, Betsy Bryan describes the opinion that prevails today:

> There are few scholars remaining who accept Erman's proposal, but that is largely due to the discoveries made by Hassan at Giza (especially the 'Sphinx Stele' of Amenhotep II"). Many of the unusual writing and unattested words appeared on the great Stela of the earlier king, thus removing the major objections raised by Erman."[116]

The flaw in this reasoning is obvious. If Erman were alive today he almost certainly would have extended his analysis and his conclusions to the Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep. Even in 1904 he had applied the identical orthographic arguments to other documents, most notably to the inscriptions in the naos of the tomb of Amenmose, son of Thutmose I. He correctly reasoned that these inscriptions were the products of scribes and artisans who lived long after the close of the 18th dynasty. The Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep does not provide a corrective to the reasoning of Erman, as Bryan seems to believe. It is the traditional date of the Sphinx stele of Amenhotep that is in error, not Erman's analysis. What Egyptologists ought to have concluded following Salim Hassan's excavation was that both the Dream Stele and the Sphinx Stele are the products of the 7th century. They may well have been designed and inscribed by the identical artisan. Almost every explanation conceivable has been given to the results of Erman's analyses except that which is most reasonable. Menkheperure's Dream Stele shows signs of being created during the 25th dynasty because it was the creation of a 25th dynasty king. The same can be said for the Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep.

"Erman has now put together the reasons for the same conclusion, which he also has reached. He would date the document between the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty and Saitic times. Spiegelberg's objections to this conclusion (Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung, 1904) would explain the mistakes and peculiarities in the orthography as due to the erasure of the inscription under Ikhnaton and the subsequent careless restoration, as in the Theban stelae (e.g. par. 878 ff.)." Breasted goes on to argue against Spiegelberg.

[115]We used the translation by John A. Wilson in ANET pp. 244-45. The inscription was first published by Selim Hassan in ASAE 37 (1937) 129-34.

[116]Op.Cit. p. 144-145.

We can only regret that Egyptologists are so deeply rooted in an errant chronology, and so convinced of the fact of the uniqueness of 18th dynasty names (an unwarranted economy of exegesis), that they fail to recognize where the evidence is leading. We have already tentatively identified Amenhotep as the son of Osorkon IV and thus a terminal king of either the 22nd or 23rd dynasty. But who is the 7th century Menkheperure? We have already hinted at the answer.

Menkheperure = Shabaka

There is but one king unaccounted for in the late 7th century - Shabaka. According to our analyses in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* this king was ruling within Egypt in 612 B.C., around the time of the fall of Nineveh. According to Josephus he was responsible for the death of Bocchoris, the son of Tefnakht, which would also date his reign to the late 7th century. And at least one monument contains the name of Neferkare in conjunction with the name of Shabaka, leading to the errant assumption that this was a prenomen of the 25th dynasty king. Not so. Neferkare is well known as the prenomen of Osorkon IV. It should be of no surprise to anyone that the names of the two kings are associated together on a monument. Osorkon ruled over the district of Bubastis/Busiris at the time of Piankhi's invasion in 617 B.C. Shabaka/Menkheperure ruled over nearby Memphis/Heliopolis.

The fact that Memphis and Heliopolis figure prominently on Menkheperure's Dream Stele attest the fact that this king resided (and therefore ruled) in this region of the country. In our earlier book we argued that Shabaka likely ruled in Memphis prior to the Tefnakht Rebellion, but was absent from the country on a diplomatic mission when Piankhi put down the rebellion. Tefnakht apparently took over the city in his absence, since he was in control of the city when Piankhi advanced on the Delta. We assume that Shabaka resumed his Memphite kingship in 616 B.C., or soon thereafter, in the aftermath of the rebellion. Sometime in the following decade he apparently encountered and brutally murdered Bocchoris.

According to Herodotus this 25th dynasty patriarch ruled Egypt for 50

years, yet his inscriptions are few and far between. The traditional history credits him with around 15 years, since at least one inscription is dated that late. The two versions of Manetho assigned to him only 8 and 12 years respectively. Regardless, the few monuments which bear his name do not justify a reign of any significant length, no matter what tradition we follow. But Shabaka is a Nubian name. If, like Piankhi, he assumed an Egyptian name when he became pharaoh within Egypt - a likely event - and if that name was Menkheperure as we suggest, then his reign may well have lasted the 33 years argued by Wente and Van Sicilen, perhaps longer. In our previous book we argued that his reign may have lasted slightly over 50 years (637-585 B.C.), in agreement with Herodotus. We have no reason here to modify those earlier claims.

If no other evidence were available to substantiate the identification Menkheperure = Shabaka we should have chosen it nevertheless. Menkheperure's Dream Stele was composed in the 7th century. He must have ruled during that century, and the provenance and content of the Dream Stele suggests he ruled in the vicinity of Memphis and Heliopolis. There is no place for such a king in the days when the Assyrians ruled the country. Therefore his reign must follow the takeover of the country by Menkheperre Piankhi, whose name likely influenced his own name selection. And if he ruled for upwards of 33 years he cannot be anyone but Shabaka. But fortunately we do not have to speculate. There exist few inscriptions of any significant length which bear the name of Shabaka. It is therefore all the more significant that one of these clearly informs us that Shabaka adopted the names of the earlier Menkheperure Thutmose.

The Fourth Pylon Inscription

According to Egyptologists the doorway through the fourth pylon in the Karnak temple of Amun was subject to many repairs and alterations over the centuries of its existence. It was presumably constructed by Thutmose I, reconstructed during the reign of Thutmose IV, renovated and improved again during the reign of the 25th dynasty king Shabaka, and repaired for the last time by Alexander late in the 4th century B.C. Evidence that it was constructed by Thutmose I is circumstantial, based

entirely on the fact that the balance of the pylon is attributed to this king. But no inscription of his is present on the doorway itself, which contains only inscriptions of Thutmose and Shabaka. Thutmose decorated the northern wing of the Pylon at the entranceway with a dedicatory inscription accompanied by scenes of the king in audience before Amun. On the uprights of the door there is another inscription, this time of Shabaka absent any representation. The entire entranceway gives the impression of having been constructed at one time. However, if the traditional history is correct, it must be the case that the inscription by Shabaka was added to the work of the earlier king 700 years after his reign ended.

A closer examination of the inscriptions suggests otherwise. According to the inscription of Thutmose IV, the entranceway and the porch which fronts the entrance were constructed at the same time, entirely by himself.

> Then his majesty acted, making a great doorway as his monument, extending and magnifying greatly, more than that which his ancestors had done. Its height was great, it reaching the sky. Its rays inundated the Two Lands making festive the lord of the gods, Amun-Re.[117]

On two other monuments found elsewhere in Thebes the results of Thutmose's doorway construction are pictured. One of these provides detailed information about the entranceway, telling us that in front of the doorway Thutmose built "a large porch, finished with fine gold, the two columns being encrusted with electrum."[118]

When we turn our attention to the inscription of Shabaka we are surprised to see the 25th dynasty pharaoh taking credit for the identical construction. According to his inscription it was he who built the large revetement wall and "the large porch finished with fine gold, the two columns being worked with electrum (and) the two bases supporting the latter with pure silver."[119]

Who are we to believe? The solution for Egyptologists was patent. Only

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[117]Translation according to Betsy Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, p. 170.
[118]The monument comes from the tomb of the Second Prophet of Amun, Amenhotep si-ese. Our translation comes from Yoyotte, "Un Porche Dore," CdE 28 (1953) 36.
[119]Yoyotte, op.cit. pp. 34-35.

one scenario was chronologically possible. Thutmose IV in the late 15th century refurbished a crude entranceway in the pylon built by Thutmose I, and 700 years later Shabaka repaired the work of Thutmose IV using identical materials. But there are strong objections to this interpretation. In the first place the two inscriptions at the doorway appear to complement one another. Thutmose IV gives credit to his ancestors who built and repaired the doorway originally, and provides no specifics about what he himself has done. Shabaka on the other hand gives prior credit to no-one, but goes into great detail about *his* construction, as if the entire work is his creation. There is absolutely no hint in Shabaka's inscription that he has merely repaired an earlier work by Thutmose I or IV. And who are these unnamed ancestors (plural) who preceded Thutmose IV in re-constructions of the doorway. If he is an 18th dynasty king, less than a century removed from Thutmose I, we would have expected him to have acknowledged the work of his close ancestor (singular), rather than provide a generic reference to several nameless predecessors.

To be fair, Egyptologists have sensed the problem and have provided the ad hoc explanation noted above. But questions abound. Why did Thutmose IV place his only inscription at this site in such an obscure location, leaving the uprights of the entranceway uninscribed and available for Shabaka to insert his inscription seven centuries later (eight centuries in the revised history)? The uprights (montants) were favored locations for builders in antiquity to publicize their efforts, easily seen and read by passers by. Why were they left blank. And why did the kings in the intervening dynasties fail to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by the uninscribed and inviting surfaces. It is said of Ramses II of the 19th dynasty that he filled every available piece of masonry with his name. Why did Ramses ignore this prominent and available surface.? And how is it that Shabaka claims to have entirely remade the entranceway (he actually says he made it, not that he re-made it) yet left intact the inscription of Thutmose IV which claims that he had remade it.

There is only one explanation that makes sense of the 4th pylon doorway. Shabaka is entirely responsible for this major reconstruction of an entranceway built hundreds of years earlier and repaired many times in the interim by nameless and perhaps unknown pharaohs. He alone is

responsible for the porch which fronts the entranceway. Both inscriptions belong to him. In his adopted name Menkheperure Thutmose he began his inscription, acknowledging the work of his predecessors. In his Nubian name Shabaka.he completed his inscription, describing in great detail the nature of his work. Both inscriptions were made at the identical time, near the end of the 7th century.

We have achieved our objective. We have demonstrated the possibility, if not the probability, that kings by the name Menkheperure Thutmose and Aakheperure Amenhotep lived and ruled over districts of Egypt in the days of Menkheperre Piankhi at the close of the 7th century. If the reader is uncomfortable about the thesis of duplicate names we can only hope that doubts will be dispelled by the revelations to be set forth in the following chapter, where for the first time we attempt to trace the ancestry of the 25th dynasty patriarch.

Chapter Seven
The 20th & 21st Dynasties Relocated

The Priest/King Menkheperre

The Coronation Inscription

Two separate but incompatible traditions exist regarding the enthronement of the 18th dynasty king Thutmose III. According to one he began his kingship as an infant and in consequence Egypt was ruled by his "sister" Hatshetsup until the child king reached maturity. According to the other he was a priest in the temple of Amun when the god, in the course of a procession through the temple, singled him out from among his fellows and promised him the kingship. Egyptologists have struggled to merge the two traditions. The effort was in vain and for good reason. The respective source documents belong to different centuries and refer to distinct but namesake kings. The infant king, the earlier of the two, belongs to the 18th dynasty; the priest/king Menkheperre, whom we identify as the 7th century king Meryamun Piankhi, must be the author of the Annals.

The inscription which informs the second of the two traditions is known as the "Coronation Inscription" of Menkheperre. We pause here to read a brief selection. If we are correct it is Piankhi's autobiography we will be reading. The document in question has been widely published since first read by Egyptologists in the middle of the 19th century. It is inscribed on "the exterior of the south wall of the chambers south of the sanctuary" in the temple of Amun at Karnak, and was first published (partially) by Brugsch in 1863. We quote from Breasted's 1905 translation. But first we let Breasted describe the document:

> This inscription contains historical material of the highest importance, which has been overlooked in all the histories. On the occasion of the completion of one of his numerous additions to the Karnak temple, sometime between the years 15 and 22 (l. 17), Thutmose III held an audience and addressed his court, informing them that he owed his crown to Amon, and that he had shown his gratitude by great buildings and sumptuous offerings (ll. 1-22). The court replied, acknowledging his divine call to the throne (ll. 22-24). All this is now recorded as an

> introduction to a three-fold list of the king's benefactions to the god: first, his buildings (ll. 25-36); second, his offerings of the field, and the herds, besides gifts of lands (ll. 36-41); third, temple utensils and the like (ll. 42-48). A short peroration concludes the record (ll. 48-49). BAR II 131

Our interest lies primarily though not exclusively in the first few lines, where the inscription "records the elevation of Thutmose III from a position of humble rank in the priesthood of the Karnak temple of Amon to the throne of Egypt." As we read we cannot help but observe the intimate relations exhibited between Menkheperre and the god Amun, just as we saw in the Piankhi stele and the Annals.

> I am his (Amon's) son, whom he commanded that I should be upon his throne, while I was one dwelling in his nest (i.e. temple); he begat me in uprightness of heart — there is no lie therein; since my majesty was a stripling, while I was a youth (*inpw*) in his temple, before occurred my installation to be prophet — my majesty. I was in the capacity (i.e. role) of the "Pillar of his Mother," like the youth Horus in Khemmis. I was standing in the northern hypostyle ----. ---- the splendors of his horizon. He made festive heaven and earth with his beauty; he received the great marvels; his rays were in the eyes of the people like the "Coming forth of Harakhte." The people, they gave to him [praise] — the [altar] of his temple. His majesty placed for him incense upon the fire, and offered to him a great oblation consisting of oxen, calves, mountain goats, — — [the god] made the circuit of the hypostyle on both sides of it, the heart of those who were in front did not comprehend his actions, while searching for my majesty in every place. On recognizing me, lo, he halted — [I threw myself on] the pavement, I prostrated myself in his presence. He set me before his majesty; I was stationed at the "Station of the King." He was astonished at me ---- without untruth. Then they [revealed] before the people the secrets in the hearts of the gods, who know these his —; there was none who knew them, there was none who revealed them [beside him]. BAR II 138-140

The narrative continues immediately to describe a coronation and the conferring of the five-fold titulary of kingship.. But this is not to say that the young priest immediately became king. The coronation of which the inscription speaks takes place in heaven, a roundabout way of saying that the gods immediately recognized Menkheperre as king, pending his later installation as king on earth.

> [He opened for] me the doors of heaven; he opened the portals of the horizon of Re. I flew to heaven as a divine hawk, beholding his form in heaven; I adored his majesty — feast. I saw the glorious forms of the Horizon-God upon his mysterious ways in heaven. Re himself established me, I was dignified with *the*

> *diadems which [we]re upon his head*, his serpent-diadem, rested upon [my forehead] — [he satisfied] me with all his glories; I was sated with the counsels of the gods, like Horus, when he counted his body at the house of my father, Amon-Re. I was [present]ed with the dignities of a god, with — my diadems. *His own titulary* was affixed for me. BAR II 141-143a (italics added)

There follows one of the most complete presentations of a five-fold titulary provided by any Egyptian document. And the titulary is specifically stated to have belonged to the god. We suggest that Piankhi is here acknowledging the fact that these names once belonged to a predecessor. In the Egyptian psyche deceased pharaohs became identified with the gods, and were worshiped in their own right. Piankhi, speaking later in life, is apparently attempting to legitimize his kingship by propagating the fiction that he received from a deceased pharaoh the insignia of office, including his predecessor's names. What else are we to make of this highly unusual text? The diadems worn by the earlier king are figuratively transferred to Piankhi's head, conferring on the newly designated king the right to rule. For the record we include the titulary names which follow in the text.

> He fixed my Horus upon the standard; he made me mighty as a mighty bull. He caused that I should shine in the midst of Thebes [in this my name, Horus: "*Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes*"][120]
> [He made my kingship enduring, like Re in heaven, in] this my [name], Favorite of the Two Goddesses: "*Enduring in Kingship, like Re in Heaven*." He formed me as a Horus-hawk of gold, he gave to me his might and his strength and I was splendid with these his diadems, in this my name [Golden Horus: "*Mighty in Strength, Splendid in Diadems*"], — [in this my name], King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: "*Menkheperre*" (the being of Re abides).
> I am his son who came forth from him, a likeness fashioned like the presider over Hesret; he beautified all my forms, in this my name, Son of Re: "*Thutmose, Beautiful of Form*," living forever and ever. BAR II 143-147

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[120]In our earlier discussion of the name Necho, which Hebrew scholars in the days of Josiah assigned to Piankhi, we suggested as one possibility that they were perhaps making a sarcastic play on words, mimicking some epithet of the 25th dynasty patriarch. We left the matter at that. But the Horus name of Menkheperre Piankhi provides a likely candidate. The epithet "strong bull" was borne by many Egyptian kings, and several included it among their titulary as did Menkheperre. It was a favorite name of Menkheperre. In Egyptian the name translated "strong bull" is Ka Nakht. - literally "bull, the strong one". Inverted, as sounded in English, it would read "Nakht Ka" which would arguably sound like Neco to a foreign ear. It is immaterial whether the Nubian king enunciated the title in reverse order, or whether the Hebrew scribes did so when they parodied the name.

As we continue to read this narrative it becomes readily apparent that the Menkheperre in this document is the same king who authored the Annals. There is therefore no doubt that he is Piankhi. He boasts of his benefactions to the god Amun, the feasts he has created, the offerings he has bestowed, the buildings he has erected, the lands transferred and the furnishings provided for the ongoing operation of the god's temple. Of particular note is his claim to have erected for the god "an August Holy of Holies," the very enclosure around which, in years to come, Menkheperre would record his successes in his Syrian campaigns.

It is clear from this inscription that Menkheperre, alias Piankhi, began his adult life as a priest. *And once a priest, always a priest.* In the first chapter we observed that king Meryamun Piankhi, in the process of invading Egypt to suppress the Tefnakht rebellion, behaved very much like a cleric. He seemed to have an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the Amun temple in Thebes, detailing every action to be taken by his emissaries in their attempt to secure for his upcoming military action the blessing of the god Amun. Even the words of address (prayers) to the god were spelled out in detail. We now understand whence came this intimate knowledge.

The "coronation stele" also provides us with insight into Piankhi's age. He is called an *inpw* in this narrative. He may well have been in his early teens, barely past puberty. But he is not yet king. The promise of kingship implied by his "anointing" relates to the future. His enthronement took place a decade later, perhaps longer. This is important insofar as it relates to our earlier remarks regarding the age at death of this king. We have assumed throughout our discussion that Menkheperre was at least seventy years old when he died, and more likely closer to eighty. This document is one basis for that assumption.

The 21st Dynasty Priest/King Menkheperre

In our second chapter we remarked on the fact that the name Menkheperre, at least in the traditional history, was borne by only three kings - the 18th dynasty pharaoh by that name, Shabataka (successor of Shabaka), and a 21st dynasty king whose other titulary names are

unknown. The revised history has added a fourth king - Piankhi. But one of these kings is an illusion, a phantom. And it is not Piankhi.

According to the textbooks the 21st dynasty, typically dated in the 11th/10th centuries B.C., consisted of multiple kings who began their lives as priests and continued throughout life to bear the dual titles "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "High Priest of Amun" (HPA). The king Menkheperre, who belonged to the so-called "Theban branch" of this dynasty, was one such king. At least one document suggests that he continued to function as a priest into his 49th year. Kitchen argues that his pontificate/kingship extended at least into his 53rd year.[121] Various inscriptions indicate that he began his rule at el Hibeh in north central Egypt and extended his authority later to the Theban area. His titles were not honorary, but functional. He was *de facto* both a priest and a king.

We thus have two priest kings by the name of Menkheperre ruling at Thebes, one in the 21st dynasty and one in the 25th dynasty. Each maintained the dual offices of priest and king for upwards of 53 years. We are intrigued by this duality and wonder at the possibility that a phantom king has been inserted into the framework of Egyptian chonology by well intentioned but confused scholars. We cannot help but think that the 21st dynasty priest king Menkheperre and the 25th dynasty priest king Menkheperre (Piankhi) are actually one and the same person. With this suspicion in mind we turn our attention back to the 21st dynasty.

21st Dynasty Chronology – Traditional History

In the traditional history, following the schema introduced by Manetho (as preserved by Africanus), the 21st dynasty consists of seven kings from Tanis, whose combined reign lengths add up to approximately 140 years. According to Africanus the seven kings of this dynasty bore the names Smendes, Psusennes, Nephercheres, Amenophthis, Osochor, Psinaches, and a second Psusennes. Some contemporary Egyptologists add a king Siamon to this list, though others equate this Siamon with Manetho's

[121]See Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period 2nd (1986) table 1 (p. 465). For this priest-king see also sect. 219, 226, and especially 501.

Psinaches. Five of these kings (Osochor and Psinaches excepted) have supposedly been identified in the monuments with kings named Nesubanebdjed, Psebkhannu, Amenemnisu, Amenemope, and (a second) Psebkhannu respectively, though these names differ significantly from the names provided by Africanus (and may not be correct). There is no consensus on the identity of Osochor and Psinaches.

Scholars are agreed that Smendes, the proverbial founder of the dynasty, *must be* identified with a king named Nesubanebdjed on several monuments, and a king by the same name on a papyrus which narrates the travels of a dignitary named Wenamun.[122] The accuracy of that identification remains to be seen. But based on that assumption the king list for the Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty was set in place at the beginning of the 20th century, *though with many questions concerning the order of the kings and considerable controversy related to reign lengths*.

In the history books we are also told that a parallel dynasty of kings ruled in Thebes in some undefined relationship to the Tanite kings, though they seem to be unknown to Manetho who omits them entirely. Many questions exist concerning this second sequence of kings, but predicated on the fact that its founder Herihor was a contemporary of a northern king named Nesubanebdjed, assumed to be Smendes I, the two branches of the dynasty are considered to have run parallel to one another throughout the roughly 135 years of their existence. The Theban branch of this dynasty is dominated by four names including that of Herihor. In chronological order they are: Herihor, Piankh, Pinudjem, and Menkheperre.

Other names have been added to this Theban sequence in the past century - a second Pinudjem, a second Smendes (Nesubanebdjed) and a third Psusennes (Psebkhannu)- partly in order to extend the length of the dynasty to match that of its northern counterpart, and partly to make sense of documents which link these names with assumed occupants of the Tanite sequence. We will discuss the last three names briefly in our concluding chapter and in more depth in our Appendix C. Here and in the next two chapters our emphasis will be on the first four names: Herihor, Piankh, Pinudjem (I) and Menkheperre.

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[122]Cf. the translation by John A. Wilson in ANET pp. 25-29. This papyrus, found at el-Hibeh in central Egypt, is now stored in the Moscow Museum.

The priest/kings in both branches of the 21st dynasty, as outlined above, together with approximate reign lengths or terms in office, are listed below in table 10. The dates for the Theban kings are cited precisely as found in K..A. Kitchen's *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1986)*.[123] The dates for the Tanite kings are based on Manetho's numbers as supplied by Gardiner in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*.[124]

Table 10: Tanite & Theban 21st Dynasty Kings
(Traditional History)

21st Dynasty Priests & Kings			
Tanite Kings			**Theban Priests & Kings**
			1080-1074 Herihor (6 years)
			1074-1070 Piankh (4 years)
1080-1054	Smendes I (26 years)		1070-1055 Pinudjem I HPA (15 years)
1054-1008	Psusennes I (46 years)		1054-1032 Pinudjem I king (22 years)
1008-1004	Amenemnisu (4 years)		1054-1046 Masaharta (8 years)
1004-995	Amenemope (9 years)		1046-1045 Djed-Khons-ef-Ankh (1 year?)
995-989	Osochor (6 years)		1045-992 Menkheperre (53 years)
989-980	Psinaches (9 years)		992-990 Smendes II (2 years)
980-966 980-945	Psusennes II (14 yrs) (35 years)	or	990-969 Pinudjem II (21 years)
			969-945 Psusennes III (24 yrs)

Before we proceed, we need to make a few changes to the table 10 data,

[123]Op. cit., table 1, p. 465.

[124]We have not followed Kitchen for the dates of the Tanite kings because we disagree with some of his conclusions. He lengthens the reign of Smendes by ten years, entirely without warrant. He also reverses the order of the 2nd and 3rd kings of the dynasty in an attempt to interpret the data on the Berlin stele in a particular way. His interpretation of tht stele is incorrrect. Finally, he identifies Psinaches as Siamon, something Gardiner is careful not to do. In due time we will argue that **Smen**des I is likely another king named **S**ia**m**o**n**, who has left little to no evidence of his existence. The fact that they bear what is arguably the same name is only one of the arguments supporting that claim.

all related to the Theban priest/kings. The reader will note that Kitchen has two listings for Pinudjem I, the successor of Piankh. According to him Pinudjem functioned as the high priest of Amun (HPA) in the years 1070-1055 B.C., and then passed the high priesthood on to his eldest son Masaharta (1054-1046) as he assumed a kingship in Thebes. As king he ruled for an additional 22 years (1054-1032). Masaharta died prematurely in 1046, was succeeded briefly by DjedKhonsefAnkh, and then by Menkheperre in 1045. If this scenario is correct, we must assume that Menkheperre became king only at the death of Pinudjem in 1032. From 1045 to 1032 Menkheperre was only a high priest. It is not by accident that Kitchen does not separate the two phases of Menkheperre's life as he did for Pinudjem. Only reluctantly, and only in the supplement to his 1986 classic on the *Third Intermediate Period*, does Kitchen acknowledge that Menkheperre did in fact assume a kingship. *When* is the only question. We believe that he became HPA and king within months of each other, following the death of Masaharta. We also believe that his father Pinudjem I died later that same year, not fourteen years later as Kitchen believes. We will argue the case later.

The inscription that records the beginning of the pontificate of Menkheperre in the 25th year of Pinudjem (supposedly in 1046 B.C.) is extremely well known. We will spend some time later in the next chapter examining this document, the so-called Maunier papyrus. Needless to say we disagree with the interpretation provided by traditionalist Egyptologists. In the first place we disagree with the explanation provided for the dateline. We believe that the "25th year" mentioned in the opening line refers to the years of Pinudjem I as king, an interpretive change that argues that Pinudjem became king and HPA at the same time, 1070 B.C. in the traditional history. If 1070 B.C. was Pinudjem's 1st year in office, his 25th must be 1046 B.C. Three changes to table 12 are suggested by these assumptions. The first is that there should be no separation between the high priesthood and kingship of Pinudjem I as in Kitchen's data. Secondly, for reasons unknown Pinudjem assigned the duties of HPA to Masaharta in 1054 B.C. and probably to Menkheperre 8 years later (1046 B.C.) when Masaharta died. Therefore Djed-Khons-ef-Ankh should be eliminated from the table.[125] Accordingly the beginning of the career of Menkheperre (as HPA, then king) should be moved back

[125]Even Kitchen is doubtful about the inclusion of this name - note the question mark in his listing.

a year to 1046. This further implies that within months of Menkheperre assuming the pontificate at the death of Masaharta, Pinudjem also died. The date of death of Pinudjem I should therefore be moved back from 1032 to 1046 B.C. Incorporating these changes into table 10 results in the revised timeline in table 11, shown below.

Table 11: Tanite & Theban 21st Dynasty Kings
(Traditional History)

21st Dynasty Priests & Kings

	Tanite Kings		**Theban Priests & Kings**
1080-1054	Smendes I (26 years)		1080-1074 Herihor in S. (6 years)
1054-1008	Psusennes I (46 years)		1074-1070 Piankh (4 years)
1008-1004	Amenemnisu (4 years)		1070-1046 Pinudjem I HPA & king (24 years)
1004-995	Amenemope (9 years)		1054-1046 Masaharta (8 years)
995-989	Osochor (6 years)		1046-992 Menkheperre (54 years)
989-980	Psinaches (9 years)		992-990 Smendes II (2 years)
980-966 980-945	Psusennes II (14 yrs) (35 years)	or	990-969 Pinudjem II (21 years)
			969-945 Psusennes III (24 years)

We strongly disagree with the dates assigned to the successors of Menkheperre, i.e., Smendes II, Pinudjem II, and Psusennes III. But as stated earlier, the matter will be left largely to our Appendix C. Apart from these three priest/kings, the relative dates in table 11 are remarkably accurate. It is the absolute dates that are grossly in error. Momentarily the entire "dynasty" will be moved into the 8th/7th centuries.

According to table 11 the 21st dynasty priest/kings ruled from 1080-945 B.C. Those dates were left unaffected by the changes we made to Kitchen's data for the Theban branch of the dynasty. In this same

traditional history the 20th dynasty is assumed to have ruled throughout the century preceding, roughly 1180-1080 B.C. These numbers assume that the 21st dynasty followed the 20th dynasty sequentially, one possible interpretation of Manetho. At first glance, that conclusion appears to be confirmed by the fact that Herihor and Piankh, the founders of the Theban branch of the dynasty, are firmly connected to the time of Ramses XI, the terminal king of the 20th dynasty. So also is the king Nesubanebdjed who figures prominently in the Wenamun story, to be discussed later. As stated earlier, Nesubanebdjed is identified by all scholars as Smendes I, the founder of the Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty.

Based on this chronology it is clearly impossible that the 11th/10th century priest-king Menkheperre can be identified with the 7th century priest-king Menkheperre Piankhi. The one ruled for roughly 54 years in the time frame 1046-992 B.C., the other for 54 years in the time frame 638-584 B.C. Roughly 408 years separate the two kings. But there are serious objections to several of the fundamental assumptions on which the traditional chronology is based. We need to spell these out before we proceed, for it must be abundantly clear by now that we do intend to relocate both branches of the 21st dynasty and ultimately equate the two Menkheperres.

A Modified Chronology (Revised History)

The Early 22nd Dynasty Kings

Already in the first book of this series we lowered by 121 years the dates of the 22nd dynasty beginning with Osorkon II, and we continued that reduction through all subsequent dynasties up to and including the 26th. We suggested at the time that this displacement would have serious implications for all dynasties prior to the 22nd. We certainly implied a lowering of dates for all earlier dynasties, including the 20th and 21st, by at least an identical 121 years. But we also hinted at the fact that the changes might be more substantial.

Before we proceed to move the 20th and 21st dynasties we should first complete our repositioning of the 22nd. To date we have reduced by 121

years the dates for all 22nd dynasty kings, beginning with Osorkon II, whose reign in the revised history began around the year 740 B.C.[126] There remains the task of assigning dates to the three preceding kings - Sheshonk I, Osorkon I, and Takeloth I - or minimally, determining their combined reign lengths, in order to fix the date when the 22nd dynasty began.

In an Appendix to the present book we argue strenuously that the alleged founder of the 22nd dynasty, Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, was a king of little consequence. Most if not all of the inscriptions credited to him, including the authorship of the famous Bubastite Portal inscription (see Appendix B), belong instead to a second Hedjkheperre Sheshonk whose existence until recently was not even suspected.[127] In our later discussion of the matter we will demonstrate that this namesake king lived and reigned during the early years of the Assyrian domination of Egypt, i.e. around the 3rd decade of the 7th century B.C.

We argue additionally that the two kings who followed Sheshonk I in the traditional history - Osorkon I and Takeloth I - are equally of little consequence. They are named in the famous Pasenhor genealogy (discussed in our Appendix A), and in Africanus' list of Manetho's kings, but are entirely absent from the monuments. If we read any popular history of Egypt we will be hard pressed to find mention of them. Gardiner, in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, passes over their reigns in a single line of text.

> Little is known about the first Osorkon and his successor the first Takelot except that the former reigned at least thirty-six years and the latter possibly as much as twenty-three. The obscurities of Egyptian history now deepen to such an extent that only rarely can a glimpse of the sequence of events be caught. EP 330

Since Gardiner recorded these remarks the assumed length of the reigns of both Osorkon I and Takeloth I has been reduced substantially. The Egyptologist K.A. Kitchen, writing in 1986, admits that "for Sekhemkheperre Osorkon I, Year 36 was for long thought to be the highest-attested, but this is now known to be a misreading for '[Year x, y

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[126] The revised dates for the 22nd and 23rd dynasties used in the following pages follow table 8 on page 58 in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*.
[127] See Aidan Dodson, "A new King Shoshenq confirmed?", GM 137 (1993), pp. 53-58.

month of Pere]t, Day 26, leaving at first sight only the Manethonic datum of 15 years"[128] He also tells us that "a monument commonly attributed to Takeloth I and alleged to attest his 23rd regnal year can be totally rejected on two grounds", and he goes on to point out that "so far, only one clear, unequivocal mention of Takeloth I (as distinct from II, Hedjkheperre, and III, Usimare) has been isolated: that in the famed genealogy on the Pasenhor stela."[129] If we assume the accuracy of Africanus for the reign lengths of Sheshonk I (21 years) and Osorkon I (15 years) and if we assign two or three years to the enigmatic Takeloth I, for whom no monument at all exists in Egypt, then these three regional kings ruled at maximum a combined 40 years, half the 80 years assigned them in the traditional history. If correct, then the 22nd dynasty began around the year 780 B.C. (740 B.C. + 40 years). But even this 40 years is too large a number. In a moment we will argue that the 22nd dynasty began around the year 760 B.C., only 20 years before the beginning of the reign of Osorkon II. If correct, then the absolute dates for the 21st dynasty Menkheperre must reduce by an additional 60 years.[130]

Assuming for the moment that the 22nd dynasty began around the year 760 B.C., and that it followed the 21st dynasty sequentially, the 21st dynasty priest king Menkheperre must have begun his reign around 850 B.C. The two priest kings named Menkheperre are now only about two centuries apart. But two additional considerations now combine to bring them together.

Overlapping Dynasties

For the longest while Egyptologists have operated on the unproven assumption that the dynasties of Manetho must be sequential, one dynasty completely yielding place to a successor. This has had the effect of stretching out or unduly lengthening the chronological schema on which Egyptian history is based. Recent studies, however, have shown

[128] TIP 89.
[129] TIP 95.
[130] If the traditional history assigns 80 years to the three kings, while we reduce that number to 20 years, dates for all earlier dynasties, including the 21st, necessarily reduce by 60 years in addition to the 121 year reduction applied to Osorkon II.

significant overlap between select dynasties, the most notable example being the 22nd and 23rd dynasties. We added yet another instance when, in the first book of this series, we moved the entirety of the 26th (Saite) dynasty to overlap the 27th (Persian).

We also observed in that earlier book the rather chaotic state of affairs that prevailed in Egypt at the end of the reign of Osorkon II, near the end of the eighth century, and to an even greater degree in the three decades immediately following his reign, when at least two dynasties (the 22nd and 23rd) and as many as four kings ruled over different regions of Egypt at the same time. While at the time we did not contest the claim by scholars that Osorkon II ruled the whole of Egypt earlier in his reign, and that this chaotic state emerged only late in his reign, neither did we confirm it. In fact we now argue otherwise. *It is our belief that both the 20th and 21st dynasties need to be moved forward in time to overlap the 22nd*! Throughout his reign Osorkon II shared power with at least two other kings.

Dynasties 20, 21 & 22 All Begin Around 760 B.C.

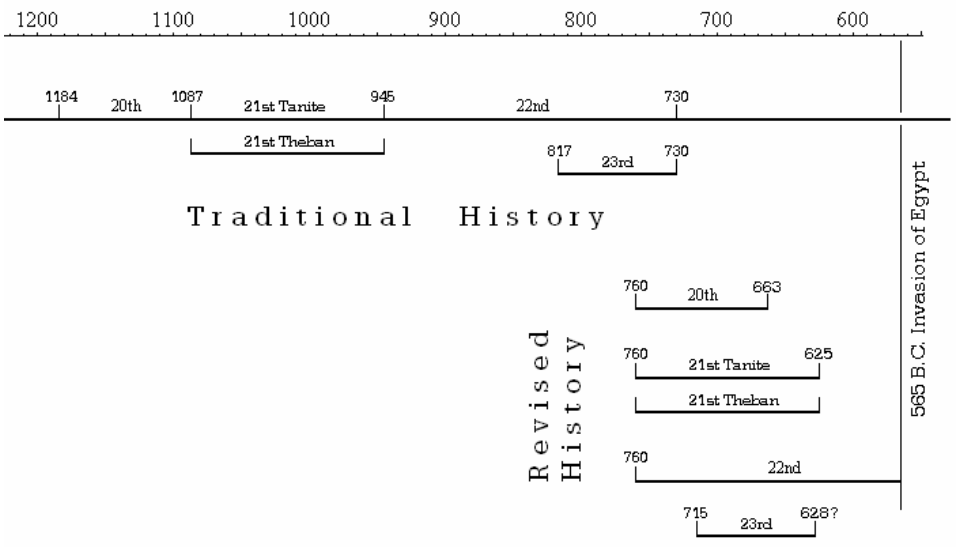
In the 3rd book in this series we will argue the case that the 19th dynasty of Egypt came to a close around the year 765 B.C. when a series of natural disasters encompassed the Ancient Near East, causing massive destruction of life and property accompanied by widespread famine. In the aftermath of this catastrophe, opportunistic groups of foreign nationals (the so called Sea Peoples of the traditional history) invaded Egypt, where they established independent regional governments which endured for decades following. Thus were born, in the space of a few short years, three Egyptian dynasties of kings, the 20th, 21st, and 22nd. Momentarily we will furnish some proof that this was so, though the bulk of the argument must await the publication of *The Genealogy of Ashakhet*.

Assuming this was the case, we argue that the earliest ancestors of Pasenhor in his famous genealogy, particularly the three kings Sheshonk I, Osorkon I, and Takeloth I, actually lived and ruled outside of Egypt, almost certainly somewhere in Libya. Sheshonk I probably never set foot in Egypt, and Osorkon I and Takeloth I were very likely quite elderly

when they arrived in the country, if indeed they arrived. No wonder these kings have left no artifacts behind. The first 22nd dynasty king to actually begin his reign within Egypt, whether or not he was born there, was Osorkon II. And from the beginning he ruled alongside kings of the 20th and 21st dynasties.

In the figure which follows (figure 11) we have produced a timeline to illustrate the point we are making. It reproduces the traditional dates for dynasties 20 through 23 (this time following Gardiner rather than Kitchen), much as we would find them in any standard treatment of Egyptian dynastic history. Alongside, in the revised history section of the diagram, we have positioned the 20th, 21st and 22nd dynasties to reflect the thesis we have just proposed. All three dynasties likely began within months of one another, in the aftermath of the natural disaster of which we have been speaking. We use the approximate date 760/759 B.C. for convenience. We confess that we really don't know the precise number, though 760 B.C. should be within a few years of the truth.

Figure 12: Revised Location of Dynasties 20, 21 and 22.



We anticipate two objections to this proposed timeline. The first is the fact that as yet we have supplied no supportive argument. The second is

the claim by traditional Egyptologists that there exists unimpeachable evidence that Hedjkheperre Sheshonk I, the supposed founder of the 22nd dynasty, reigned in Egypt beginning around the year 945 B.C., and that his reign immediately followed the time of Psusennes II, the terminal king of the 21st dynasty. What do we say to these assumed objections?

Our response to the first will follow in the balance of this chapter and in the three chapters following, where we present multiple lines of argument supportive of our thesis. The answer to the second objection is confined largely to our Appendix B. At this time we provide only the barest outlines of our counter-argument.

Egyptologists, following Manetho, have consistently followed a schema in which the 20th, 21st, and 22nd dynasties ruled Egypt in sequence. Gardiner, in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, assigns to the three dynasties the dates 1184-1087, 1087-945, and 945-730 B.C. respectively. The 945 date for the beginning of the 22nd dynasty is based entirely on a single fragile argument. It is assumed, entirely without warrant, that the founder of the 22nd dynasty was a king named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, the author of a wall inscription on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak. That wall inscription describes Sheshonk's attack on a group of Palestinian cities early in his reign. From the first moments this inscription was read in the mid-19th century, scholars identified this invasion of Palestine with an attack on Jerusalem by an Egyptian king named Shishak sometime during the reign of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, an event recorded in the Hebrew Bible in 1 Kings 14:25-26. Based on a relatively secure Jewish chronology, that invasion is firmly dated around the year 940 B.C., and in consequence the assumption is made that the reign of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk began only slightly earlier, thus around 945 B.C. The Bubastite Portal inscription thus furnishes the lynchpin which holds both the 21st and 22nd dynasties firmly in their respective sequential time frames.

Needless to say we disagree entirely with almost every aspect of this syllogism. We do not believe that Sheshonk I had the prenomen Hedjkheperre, nor that he authored the Bubastite Portal inscription. Neither do we believe that the Portal inscription has anything to do with an attack on Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam. That most important city is certainly not mentioned in the listing of conquered towns. And

finally, we deny categorically that any evidence exists linking Sheshonk I with the time of Psusennes II and the end of the 21st dynasty. The details of our argument must await the proper forum. The matter is sufficiently complex that it is relegated to our Appendix B, where it will not interrupt the flow of our discussion.

If the 21st dynasty began around 760 B.C. as we claim, and continued through the balance of the 8th century and into the 7th century, overlapping much of the space occupied by the 22nd and 23rd dynasty kings, then when did it end? If we follow the listing of 21st dynasty kings in table 11 above, the dynasty lasted for 135 years (1080-945). In the revised history its dates would be 760-625 B.C. These dates are not written in stone. There are in fact several critical errors in the listing of kings which will need adjusting on an ad hoc basis. But for the purposes of this book the list should provide a workable framework for discussion.

Dates for the 20th dynasty are perhaps more controversial. Manetho states that this dynasty consisted of 12 Diospolite (Theban) kings who ruled for 135 years (Africanus) or 178 years (Eusebius). Egyptologists disagree with both figures and assign about 100 years to the 10 known kings. Gardiner places the dynasty between the years 1184-1087, thus assigning it 97 years in total. If correct, and if the dynasty began in 760 B.C., it must have ended around 663 B.C. This crude calculation will turn out to be remarkably accurate, requiring an adjustment of only a single year.

Our relocation of dynasties 20-22 is complete. The results of our analysis are tabulated in table 12 below.

Table 12: Conjectural Dates for Dynasties 20 - 22[131]

dynasty	Range of Kings	Dates
20th dynasty	Setnakht-Ramses XI	760-663 B.C.
21st dynasty	Smendes-Psusennes II	760-625 B.C.
22nd dynasty	Sheshonk I – Osorkon IV	760-608 B.C.

These dates are already incorporated into our figure 12 timeline.

It is now time to defend our reconstruction of this segment of Egyptian dynastic history.

Supportive Argument

Our primary defence of the thesis that the 20th and 21st dynasties began around the year 760 B.C. is scattered through the whole of *The Genealogy of Ashakhet*, the third book in our series. That book in its entirety argues the case that Ramses II of the 19th dynasty ruled during the years 840-774 B.C., and that the 19th dynasty ended ten years later, in 765 B.C. Clearly that situation *demands* that we position dynasties 20, 21, and 22 very soon after the year 765 B.C.

But there is no need for the reader to await the publication of another book for confirmation that we are right. The balance of this chapter provides, in point form, at least four reasons why the reader should be convinced immediately that our thesis is at least plausible, if not probable. The final point, based on the Berlin genealogy of the priest Ashakhet, is particularly compelling. And we end the chapter with an argument based on the archaeology of Nubia, which strongly suggests that the 20th

[131]In this table we no longer follow table 8 on page 58 of our earlier book in listing Osorkon IV following a king Pedubast as the terminal king of the 22rd dynasty. That earlier table followed Aston's analysis of 22nd and 23rd dynasty kings largely because we agreed with Aston's analysis of the kings of the 23rd dynasty and there was nothing to be gained by disputing his dates for the terminal kings of the 22nd dynasty. Here we must set the record straight. Following Kenneth Kitchen we believe that Osorkon IV succeeded directly the reign of Sheshonk V. We assume, as mentioned in our earlier discussion of the reign of Aakhperure Amenhotep, that he reigned from 617 B.C. (the date of death of Sheshonk V) till around 608 B.C. (see above pp 164-65). We omit the reign of king Aakheperure Amenhotep from this list, since we cannot prove conclusively that he was a son of Osorkon IV and belongs in the 22nd dynasty sequence.

dynasty of kings ruled precisely where we have re-positioned them. Other arguments follow in the remaining chapters of this book. In defense of our thesis we therefore argue as follows.

1. We have quoted Gardiner regarding the complete absence of monumental evidence which exists for the early kings of the 22nd dynasty, suggestive of the fact that either they were petty kings, mere nomarchs with very limited power, or that their reigns actually took place outside of Egypt. Even the reign of Osorkon II yields inscriptional evidence very narrowly centered around Bubastis in the delta, supportive of our belief that he was merely a regional ruler. There is absolutely no evidence supporting the claim by Egyptologists that these early 22nd dynasty kings ruled the whole of Egypt. Egyptologists speculate that the fragmentation of Egypt began only at the end of the reign of Osorkon II, when Takeloth II emerged to contest for power. But again there is no evidence that this was so. The *Chronicle* of prince Osorkon, the future Osorkon III, suggests that the first three decades of the 7th century were extremely chaotic, with multiple pharaohs competing for expanded power. In the revised history this "great disruption" set the stage for the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon of Assyria, who immediately divided Egypt among a dozen regional authorities, a division of power apparently patterned after the existing fragmented political structure of the country. And fifty years later, the arrival of Piankhi to suppress the Tefnakht rebellion confirms the fact that Egypt continued to be divided among at least five kings (assuming Piankhi already ruled in Thebes). We wonder where Egyptologists have derived their notion of one nation, one king. Every time the fog lifts briefly, and we obtain a glimpse at the political landscape in Egypt, we see multiple kings. If we are correct then Egypt was never ruled by a single all powerful pharaoh after the demise of the 19th dynasty king Ramses II. We are on firm ground when we suggest that during the final sixty years of the 8th century at least three dynasties of kings ruled simultaneously within Egypt. We are bound by the evidence, not by the assumption of contiguous dynasties imposed upon us by traditionalist Egyptologists.

2. Manetho specifically tells us that the three dynasties we place in the 8th century consisted of regional kings. We are informed by his excerptors, Africanus and Eusebius, that the 20th dynasty consisted of 12

Diospolite (Theban area) kings, whose names were not preserved. These same sources tell us that the 21st dynasty consisted of seven kings from Tanis, and that the 22nd was made up of "nine kings of Bubastis." That language at least admits the possibility that these three dynasties ruled localized regions of the country from their respective residence cities, not the whole of Egypt.[132] The Diospolite kings ruled only in the south.[133]

3. It is well known that several 21st dynasty kings and dignitaries, and not a few members also of the 22nd dynasty, are associated in the monuments in some undefined way with the 20th dynasty. Psusennes I and his son Ankhefenmut[134] at times identified themselves with the Ramesside kings by adopting the hyphenated names Ramses-Psusennes and Ramses-Ankhefenmut. Various attempts have been made to explain this intrusion of the name Ramses into a 21st dynasty context, omitting that which is most reasonable, namely, that the Tanite priest/kings ruled in close association with the Ramesside kings, often entering into marital alliances. Kitchen made note of this affinity with the 20th dynasty kings in his commentary on these names, but could only leave the matter unresolved. His comments are worth reproducing:

> It has not escaped attention that Psusennes I appears to claim some connection with the preceding, Ramesside, dynasty. Thus, one fragmentary block from Tanis bears the cartouche 'Ramesses-Psusennes, Beloved of [Amun]', which recurs on a ring-bezel from the burial of Wen-djeba-en-Djed in the tomb of Psusennes I. Furthermore, in room 3 of his Tanite tomb, Psusennes I made provision for the burial of a prince who was doubtless a son that predeceased him, given the probable long duration of Psusennes' reign. In brief form, this man was called simply 'the King's Son, Ankhefenmut'; but on the end of his

[132]Manetho proceeds to claim that the 23rd dynasty consisted of "four kings of Tanis" and the 24th of a single king "Bochchoris of Sais", yet few if any Egyptologists would claim that these dynastic kings ruled the whole of Egypt.

[133]We assume that the residence city of the 20th dynasty kings was originally Diospolis Parva, near Thebes. The 20th dynasty kings were entombed in the Valley of the Kings on the west bank of the Nile opposite Thebes, indication that the south of Egypt was their home. The vast majority of their monuments have been found in the south. Ramses III, who ruled near the outset of this time period, fought against the intrusion of the Sea Peoples in the North, but apparently his successes were not so far ranging as he lets on in his inscriptions.

[134]Throughout our discussion of the 21st dynasty we will continue to use the number designation of the two Tanite kings named Psusennes, even though, as argued below, we believe that the traditional history has reversed the true order of these kings. The king named Psusennes I, with son named Ankhefenmut, was actually the second of the two kings by that name, and technically should be named Psusennes II.

> sarcophagus were set out his full name and titles, calling him (inter alia): 'Bodily King's Son whom he loves, Ramesses-Ankhefenmut.' These compound names, Ramessses-Psusennes and Ramesses-Ankhefenmut, are wholly in the style of those of the sons and successors of Ramesses III in the 20th Dynasty, and suggest that Psusennes I and his son claimed a link with the Ramessides, a claim which was not taken up by their successors. TIP 41

Twenty-second dynasty associations with the 20th dynasty are equally clear from names on the monuments. Many dignitaries mentioned in 22nd dynasty inscriptions bore the title "King's Son of Ramses". There is only one reasonable explanation for this title - the bearer of the name was a son, or perhaps a maternal grandson, of a king named Ramses. And once again Ramses III would be the most likely candidate. These references are late. At least one, that of a "King's Son of Ramses Pashedbast", found among the relics in the burial chamber of Harnakht, son of Osorkon II, comes from the last decade of the 8th century (in the revised history).[135] Two others are even later. We quote Kitchen on the details. But we should read critically. He is discussing the sons of Shoshenk III, three of whom are certain, the fourth and fifth less so. It is only because their names appear on monuments contemporary with Sheshonk III that they are included in Kitchen's list:

> A fourth son was a "King's Son of Ramses", Commander of All Troops, Great Chief of [—], Takeloth (C), son of the Lord of the Two Lands, his mokther being Djed-Bast-es-ankh', whose activity at Busiris is denoted by a donation-stela of Year 18, most likely of Shoshenq III. A fifth possible prince was the 'High Priest of Amenresonter, King's Son of Ramesses, Mek-prince of Pawer ..., Army-leader, Padebehenbast', on a donation-stela of Year 28 of Shoshenq III, probably from Kom el Hisn. TIP 305.

Takeloth and Padebehenbast are not sons of Sheshonk as Kitchen thinks. They are, as their title clearly suggests, sons of a 20th dynasty king Ramses.[136] There are yet other dignitaries who bear the identical title, but these examples are sufficient to draw attention to the problem. What else should we conclude from these references than the fact that sons and grandsons of a Ramesside king, possibly Ramses III in view of his notoriety, lived into the reign of Sheshonk III, whose dates are 712-673

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[135]Cf. Kitchen, TIP 93 (p.118).

[136]It is possible, of course, that Sheshonk III married a daughter of Ramses III, and that these children were born to him by that wife.

B.C. in the revised chronology. This would be possible only if Ramses III ruled in the middle years of the 8th century.

4. One important monument, the so-called "Berlin stele"[137], which contains what we have termed "the genealogy of Ashakhet", provides a listing of the high priests of Ptah in Memphis extending back over a thousand years from the time of its composition sometime in the late 7th century. Apparently the Memphite priests kept meticulous records which allowed for the creation of this extremely detailed inscription. In many instances the inscription names a king under whose rule a particular high priest held office. To be specific, it states that two high priests ruled during the lengthy reign of Psusennes I near the beginning of the 21st dynasty, while the high priest in the third generation prior ruled under Ramses II of the 19th dynasty. The 20th dynasty is noticeably absent from the document, leading to speculation that an haplography has caused the artisan to omit entirely the line of priests contemporary with the Ramesside kings of the 20th dynasty. That conclusion is an act of desperation. It cannot be sustained by an examination of the monument. The end of the reign of the 19th dynasty king Ramses II clearly precedes the beginning of the 21st dynasty by no more than two generations. This is possible only if the 20th and 21st dynasties are contemporary with one another. The Memphite priests naturally related their terms in office to the 21st dynasty kings whose realms included Memphis, ignoring completely the parallel 20th dynasty which ruled the Theban area. The Berlin genealogy, in and of itself, confirms the overlap between the two dynasties, a critical aspect of our revised chronology.

While we are on the subject of the Berlin genealogy we must add a brief note about its chronology. The creation of a timeline from the Berlin monument is facilitated by comparing it with a Serapeum stele authored by a priest of Ptah named Ashakhet, who provides his own genealogy, which merges with the Berlin list of names. We cannot overemphasize the importance of these two documents. In combination they will assist us in reconstructing much of Egyptian dynastic history in the next two books of our series. Kitchen acknowledges their importance, though Egyptologists generally are less than enamoured with the Berlin

[137]Ludwig Borchardt, *Quellen Und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der Agyptischen Geschichte* (1935) pp. 96-112.

monument, since its content flatly contradicts the traditional history.

Two major genealogical documents form the core of our knowledge of Memphite pontiffs for this period, and (combined with contemporary data) have an important and direct bearing on 21st-Dynasty chronology. These are the remarkable genealogies of Memphite priests, one of which is in Berlin (23673) and the other is a partial parallel from the Serapeum, which is now in the Louvre ('96; Cat. 52). TIP 151

The two genealogies merge beginning in the sixth generation back from Ashakhet with an ancestor named Shedsunefertem. With this name the Ashakhet stele comes to an end, while the Berlin document continues on for a further 50 generations. Four and five generations back from Shedsunefertem we encounter priests named Harsiese and Pipi, each of whom served under Psusennes I (Psebkhannu I) of the 21st dynasty. Thus the beginning of the 21st dynasty can be dated to the 10th and 11th generations before Ashakhet. It follows that if we can date the time of Ashakhet, and can figure out the approximate length of a generation of the priests of Ptah in Memphis, we can date the beginning of the 21st dynasty. Both of these subjects are covered in detail in the next book of our series, the title of which reflects the importance attached to the two documents. Here we merely summarize our later conclusions.

The high priests of Ptah married early, probably in their teens. In consequence they were only fifteen or sixteen years old when their firstborn offspring were born. In the balance of our Displaced Dynasties series we use the figure 16 years per generation for the Memphite priests with surprisingly accurate results. And we have dated the birth of Ashakhet, the author of the Serapeum stele, to around the year 600 B.C. It follows that the priests Harsiese and Pipi who served Psebkhannu I were born around the years 776 and 760 respectively. Assuming they were around 30-40 years of age when they performed their cultic rituals, Psebkhannu (Psusennes I) must have reigned in the final third of the 8th century, precisely where we would expect him to be if the dynasty began around the year 760 B.C. (see table 13 below).

For the moment we rest our case, and with some confidence move the 21st dynasty of kings from the 11th into the 8th century. The displacement is straightforward. All dates in table 11 on page 187 must be lowered by 320 years, moving the dynasty from its traditional 1080-945 B.C.

placement to its revised location. The revised dates for the Tanite/Theban kings of this dynasty are listed in table 13 below.

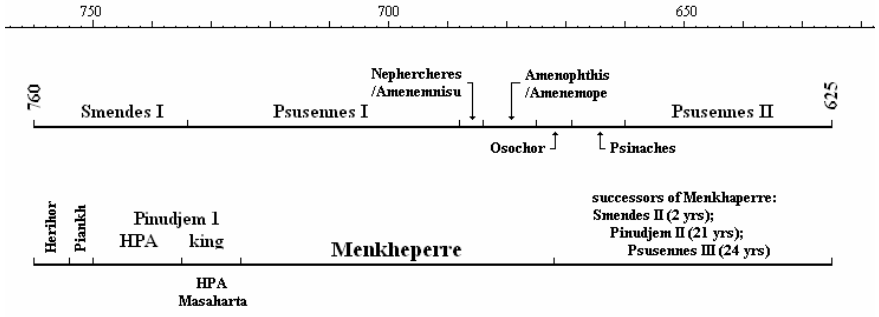
Table 13: Kings of the Tanite & Theban 21st Dynasty
(Revised History – Interim)

21st Dynasty Priests & Kings

Tanite Kings	**Theban Priests & Kings**
760-734 Smendes I (26 years)	760-754 Herihor in S. (6 years)
734-688 Psusennes I (46 years)	754-750 Piankh (4 years)
688-684 Nephercheres (or Amenemnisu) (4 years)	750-726 Pinudjem I HPA & king (24 years)
684-675 Amenophthis (or Amenemope) (9 years)	734-726 Masaharta (8 years)
675-669 Osochor (6 years)	726-672 Menkheperre (54 years)
669-660 Psinaches (9 years)	672-670 Smendes II (2 years)
660-646 Psusennes II (14 yrs)	670-649 Pinudjem II (21 years)
or 660-625 (35 years)	649-625 Psusennes III (24 years)

The numbers in table 13 are depicted visually below in figure 13.

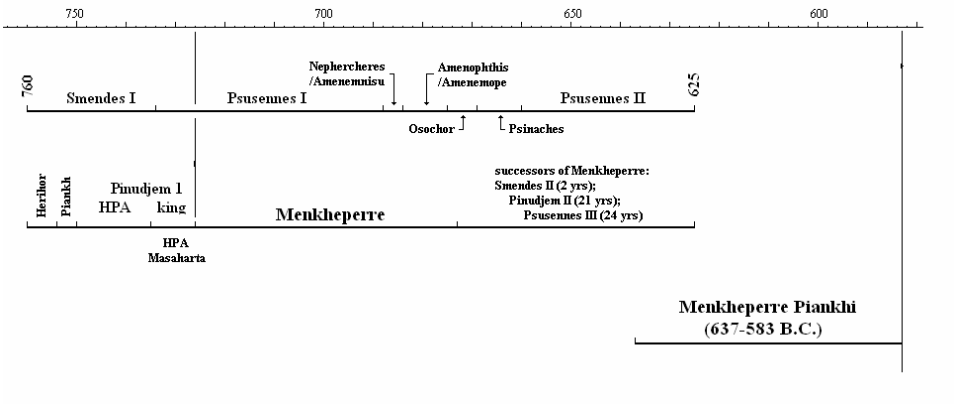
Figure 13: Dynasty 21 Moved to the 8th/7th Centuries B.C.



We set out in this chapter to prove that the 21st dynasty Theban priest-

king Menkheperre and the 25th dynasty priest-king Menkheperre Piankhi were one and the same person. Thus far we have reasoned that the 21st dynasty belongs historically in the approximate time frame 760-625 B.C. The dates for the 21st dynasty Menkheperre have now been reduced to around 726-672 B.C. Piankhi ruled from 638-584 B.C. The two kings remain separated in time by 88 years. Clearly the Theban branch of the 21st dynasty must be displaced further.

Figure 14: The Two Menkheperres 89 Years Apart



A Final Transposition of the 21st Dynasty, Theban Branch.

Theban Branch is not Part of the 21st Dynasty

Thus far we have assumed, following the traditional history, that the Tanite and Theban branches of the 21st dynasty were complementary factions of the same dynasty, ruling their respective halves of the country for precisely the same length of time, beginning and ending in the same years, a claim that should immediately cause us to wonder, since no reason is given in the traditional history for their simultaneous rise to power, nor for their synchronized demise.

It is time to sever the chord linking the two branches of the 21st dynasty. In the chronology suggested in figure 12 (page 195) there is no possibility

that the Theban branch of the 21st dynasty existed where it is positioned there. According to our revised history both the 20th and both branches of the 21st dynasties began around the year 760 B.C. and overlapped each other for close to one hundred years. We thus have two dynasties of kings, the 20th and the "21st Theban", ruling in the identical area in the same time frame. This is clearly an impossibility. The 21st dynasty Theban priest/kings must move. Accordingly we must remove the link between Smendes, the founder of the Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty, and Herihor, the founder of the inappropriately named "21st dynasty Theban branch" – and displace the latter sequence of kings.

Later in this book we will argue *against* the assumption, long held by Egyptologists, that the king named Nesubanebdjed in the monuments, and in the story of the travels of (king) Wenamun, must be identified as Smendes, the founder of the 21st dynasty. We will argue instead that this Nesubanebdjed lived and ruled near the end of the 21st dynasty, not at its beginning. And since this priest/king is a contemporary of Herihor, the founder of the "Theban branch of the dynasty", it follows that the Theban kings overlap at most the final decades of the reign of the Tanite kings. The beginning of the Theban branch lies a century after the time of Smendes, and precisely when we expect that the 25th dynasty ancestors of Menkheperre Piankhi began to rule in Egypt. Properly understood, the "Theban branch of the 21st dynasty" is no more a part of the 21st dynasty than are the 22nd and 23rd dynasties, which overlap the 21st dynasty to an even greater extent. It is a misnomer to refer to these kings as 21st dynasty pharaohs, though for the sake of consistency we will continue to do so. As we will soon see, they include Piankhi and his immediate ancestors. As such they are forerunners of Manetho's 25th dynasty.

The critic has no grounds to complain. The Theban branch of the 21st dynasty is a figment of the collective imaginations of 20th century Egyptologists, based on a single unproven assumption (Smendes = Nesubanebdjed). Manetho knows nothing about any Theban kings contemporary with his 21st dynasty. Not a single monument connects Pinudjem I (1070-1032 B.C.) with Smendes (1069-1043 B.C.), Amenemnisu (1043-1039 B.C.) or Psusennes I (1039-991 B.C.), northern kings whose reigns his life presumably overlapped. No monument of the priest king Menkheperre mentions a single Tanite king. Once we remove

the faulty Smendes = Nesubanebdjed lynchpin which mistakenly holds the Theban kings wrongly in place, we are at liberty to move them at will, so long as they fit in their new surroundings.

Theban Branch Moved into 7th Century

With that in mind we detach the Theban priest/kings from the Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty, and lower the table 13 dates for these kings by a further 88 years[138], bringing them fully into the 7th century, overlapping the final decades of the 21st dynasty Tanite kings. The dates for Menkheperre are those forced upon us by the results of our previous analyses of the life of Piankhi, which clearly demonstrate that a king by the name Menkheperre Piankhi ruled Egypt during the years 638-584.

Table 14: Revised Dates for the Theban 21st Dynasty Kings[139]

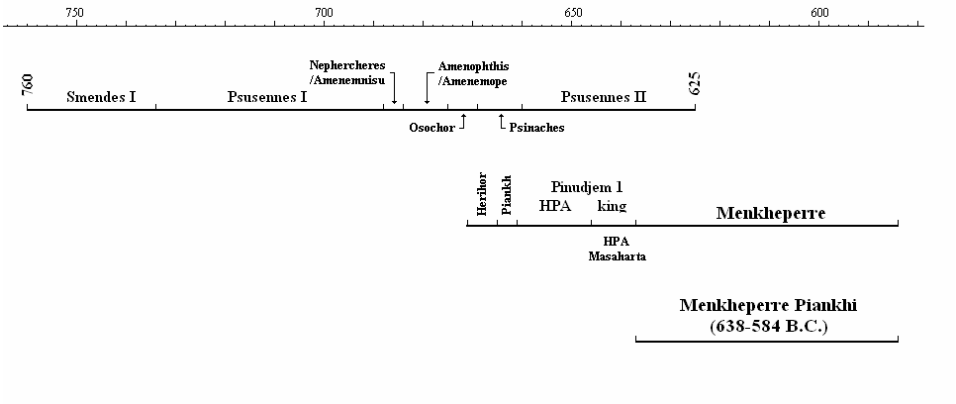
Previously Assigned Dates	Priest/King	Revised Dates
760-754	Herihor in S. (6 years	671-665
754-750	Piankh (4 years)	665-662
750-726	Pinudjem I HPA & king (24 years)	662-638
734-726	Masaharta (8 years HPA)	646-639
726-672	Menkheperre HPA & king (54 years)	638-584

[138]The net effect of all of these reductions is to lower the dates of the Theban "kings" Herihor, Piankh, Pinudjem and Menkheperre by 408 years from the dates assigned them by the traditional history, as listed in table 11 on p. 190.

[139]We have made but one slight change in the numbers. Reducing Herihor's dates by 88 years produces the years 672-666. For reasons that will be obvious in a moment we believe that the dates 671-665 B.C. are more appropriate. The 665 date for the end of Herihor's tenure in office and the beginning of Piankh's are tentative even in the traditional history. We argue later that both Herihor and Piankh likely died in 662. The reader will also note that we have not included the revised dates for the final three Theban kings. Clearly they do not belong in the position assigned to them by Kitchen, who listed them in sequence as if their pontificates followed successively after the death of Menkheperre. As it turns out several of them were elevated to their clerical positions during the long reign of their father Menkheperre (see Appendix C).

These revised dates for the 21st dynasty Theban branch are now incorporated into a revised timeline for dynasty 21.

Figure 15: Dates for the Theban 21st Dynasty Lowered by 88Years



There remains for us the task of demonstrating a remarkable correspondence between these dates and information provided by a multitude of monuments. The analysis will require several chapters. But first an excursus into Nubia. We need to add to the timeline the dates for the 20th dynasty kings, and introduce yet one more argument for placing them in the 8th/7th centuries B.C.

20th Dynasty (Revised History)

A Revised 20th Dynasty Chronology

Most of our attention thus far has been directed toward the 21st dynasty, this for an obvious reason. We needed to revise the dates for this dynasty in order to prove that the two priest kings Menkheperre were the same person. But our revision also demands that the 20th dynasty be moved substantially, from its traditional location in the years around 1177-1080[140] to the years beginning around 760 B.C., a displacement of 417

[140]In table 15 we use the regnal years provided by Gardiner (*Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 446). But

years. We have already introduced some argument defending this repositioning. It is time to assign specific dates to individual kings. For convenience we simply reproduce, in our table 16 below, the dates for this dynasty using the reign lengths provided by Gardiner in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, based on the assumption that the dynasty began around the year 760 B.C.

For reasons that will become clear in the next chapter, we actually begin the dynasty one year later than the date used for the 21st Tanite kings. We believe, with good cause, that the 19th year of Ramses XI should be dated in 671 B.C., and thus that the 1st year of this king occurred in the year 689 B.C. With the reign lengths provided by Gardiner, the only way to achieve that end is to begin the dynasty in 759; either that or increase the reign length of one of the kings by a single year. We choose the first alternative simply to expedite the process. The table 15 dates are at least close to the truth, and will suffice for the argument of this book.

Table 15: Revised Dates for the 20th Dynasty Kings

Table ?: 20th Dynasty Chronology		
Setnakht	2 years	759-757 B.C.
Ramses III	32 years	757-726 B.C.
Ramses IV	6 years	726-720 B.C.
Ramses V	4 years	720-716 B.C.
Ramses VI	7 years	716-709 B.C.
Ramses VII	---	709 B.C.
Ramses VIII	---	709 B.C.
Ramses IX	17 years	709-692 B.C.
Ramses X	3 years	692-689 B.C.
Ramses XI	27 years	689-662 B.C.

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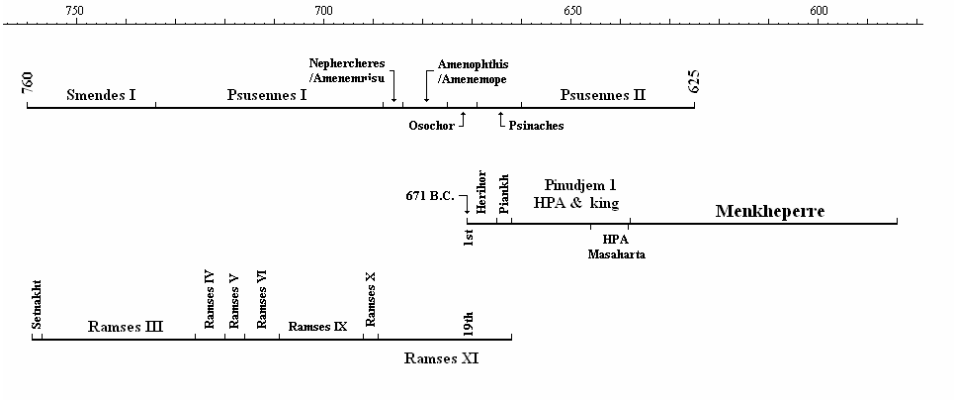
we reduce Gardiner's absolute dates from 1184-1087 to 1177-1080 in order to end the dynasty in 1080, as Kitchen does. Since the dynasty is being moved, the traditional absolute dates have absolutely no bearing on our revision. The change is made only to synchronize the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st in the traditional history, since we are relying on two different sources for data on the two dynasties.

These dates may now be added to the timeline introduce earlier (figure 15, p. 208) to produce our final view of the combined 20th, 21st Tanite, and detached 21st Theban dynasty chronology. We will have cause in the next chapter to refer constantly to this timeline.

Figure 16: Completed Revised Timeline of the 20th, 21st Tanite, and "21st Theban" Dynasties.



Before moving on to analyze and defend these revised dates we digress one last time to provide additional argument for positioning the 20th dynasty in the 8th/7th centuries. Our attention is focused on Nubia.

Archaeological Dark Age

In the aftermath of his early 20th century excavations at the Nuri cemetery, several miles upstream from Napata, Reisner developed an elaborate theory concerning the origins of the 25th dynasty Nubian kingdom, how it began as a province of Egypt under the 22nd dynasty and how its Libyan officials in time became independent of and ultimately conquered the motherland in the time of Piankhi. We let the Egyptologist D.M. Dixon tell the story:

> Reisner believed that during the rule of the Twenty-second (Libyan) Dynasty in Egypt (945-730 B.C.) Nubia remained a province of that land ruled by one of the king's sons. On the break-up of Egypt into a number of semi-independent principalities soon after the death of Shoshenk I, Nubia too, according to Reisner,

> became independent under its Egyptianized Libyan governor, who thus became the ancestor of the Kushite royal family. This man Reisner identified with the 'Commander of the Army Pashedenbastet, son of King Shoshenk, whose name occurred on a fragment of an alabaster vessel found in the pyramid of Queen Akheqa at Nuri, and he thought this Pashedenbastet was the father of Kashta, the first of the Kushite rulers about whose activity anything is known. In that case, Kashta's occupation of Upper Egypt and his action in forcing the Divine Adoratress Shepenwepet, the daughter of Osorkon III to adopt his own daughter Amenirdis, would have to be seen as part of a struggle between rival Libyans for supremacy in Egypt – an unconvincing theory.[141]

This theory of a "Libyan origin for the 25th dynasty", now almost universally rejected by Egyptologists, changed somewhat in its details but not in its substance several years later when Reisner excavated the royal cemetery at el-Kurru, a few miles downstream from Napata. There Reisner found, in addition to the more elaborate pyramid tombs of Piankhi, Shabaka, and Shabataka, thirteen tumuli clearly older than the 25th dynasty tombs. Following extensive analysis of these tumuli he concluded that they represented five or six generations of the immediate ancestors of Kashta, the father of Piankhi in the popular history. On the assumption that a generation equaled roughly fifteen to twenty years Reisner estimated that the earliest of the tumuli at this location (Tumulus 1) should be dated around 850 B.C., over a century preceding Piankhi's invasion of the delta (in the traditional history). This hypothetical mid-9th century date for Tumulus 1, roughly contemporary with Osorkon II in the traditional history, suggested an early 22nd dynasty origin for this king's reign, an opinion supported (supposedly) by the few artifacts recovered from the tombs.

Following the el-Kurru excavations Reisner modified his earlier opinion concerning 25th dynasty origins, deleting Pashedenbast from the equation, but maintaining the dynasty's assumed Libyan connection. For the record we note the characteristics of the theory in its final form, again following D.M. Dixon:

> Reisner concluded that 'while the northern Libyans were entering the Delta, or soon thereafter, the southern Libyans, the Temehuw, pushed into the Nile Valley in Ethiopia [i.e. Kush] coming no doubt over the old road of the oases. During the reign of Sheshanq I, or possibly a little later, a Libyan chief, the man buried in

[141]D.M. Dixon, "The Origin of the Kingdom of Kush (Napata-Meroe)," JEA 50 (1964) 121

> Ku. Tum 1, established himself on an estate at el-Kurruw near Napata .... In all probability this first chief of the el-Kurruw family seized at once on the powers of the old Egyptian Viceroy and became like all the other Libyan chiefs in the Nile Valley nominally tributary to the Libyan King of Egypt.[142]

We have no quarrel with many of Reisner's conclusions. Save for the dates they may be correct. But it is important to note that none of the Kurru tumuli on which this opinion is based contain identifiable inscriptions. Their occupants therefore remain anonymous. Without exception the graves have been thoroughly looted. Little to nothing remains of the original funerary artifacts. No bodies were found, only scattered relics overlooked by tomb robbers. But there are thirteen tumuli, and they do appear to antedate the tomb of Piankhi.

Outside of this graveyard at el-Kurru, whether in Napata, or elsewhere in the area of the Dongola Reach between the 3rd and 4th cataracts, there is no evidence of occupation by these ancestors of king Piankhi. Even more surprising is the absence of any evidence of contact with Egypt, much less of occupation by Egyptians, extending backward an additional three centuries from the time of the Tumulus 1 king. *Prior to the assumed 850 B.C. date for this ancestor, there is no archaeological evidence of any interaction between Nubia and Egypt backward as far as the mid-20th dynasty*, roughly 1130 B.C. in the traditional history! Throughout this extended period of time there exists, in the immediate vicinity of Napata, an "archaeological vacuum" or "dark age" extending from c.a. 1130-850 B.C., roughly the time from Ramses III to the beginning of the reign of Osorkon II. The dates, of course, relate to the traditional history.

This so-called Nubian "dark age" is not restricted to the Dongola Reach. It applies to the entire length of the Nile above the 1st cataract! To use the words of Dixon (for the last time): "During the Twentieth Dynasty, the area between the First and Fourth Cataracts was abandoned by the Egyptians and thereafter for nearly three centuries an almost complete blanket of silence descends on events in that land."[143] Even assuming that Egypt did continue its involvement in Nubian politics through the

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[142]Ibid., p. 126. Dixon is here following Reisner's comments in Sudan Notes and Records 2 (1919), p. 247.
[143]D.M. Dixon, "The Origin of the Kingdom of Kush (Napata-Meroe)," JEA 50 (1964) 121.

end of the 20th dynasty, as attested by Egyptian documents from the reigns of Ramses IX through Ramses XI, Egyptologists remain hard pressed to explain why Nubia, from Assuan to Meroe, was abandoned by Egypt for over two hundred years (1070-850 B.C.).

This extended silence continues to perplex scholars, who are unanimous in their belief that the Napatan area contained a thriving temple cultus during the New Kingdom and again in the days of Piankhi. What happened in the interval is a mystery. No satisfactory explanation is forthcoming from Egyptologists. Bruce Trigger, arguably one of the foremost authorities on Nubian culture and history, raises the possibility that some continuity was maintained during that lengthy period, but admits that evidence is entirely lacking:

> Unfortunately, it is not known what happened in Upper Nubia between 1070 and 850 B.C. The Egyptian towns north of the Third Cataract seem to have been abandoned by the end of the New Kingdom and some Egyptologists have doubted that there were any Egyptians living in Upper Nubia after that time. Others have suggested that nominal Egyptian sovereignty was upheld by the priests at Gebel Barkal, who remained in contact with the priesthood of Amon at Thebes, or by Egyptian priests, officials, and traders who had remained in Upper Nubia and intermarried with the local population to form a 'government in exile' in opposition to the Libyan rulers in Egypt.[144]

In the revised history there is no need to explain an archaeological "dark age" because none existed. We have just finished arguing that the reign of Ramses III, which ended shortly after the middle of the 8th century, was followed immediately by the reign of Osorkon II. In fact, the reigns of the two kings overlapped for roughly a decade. No three hundred year interval existed between them. Piankh, the grandfather of Piankhi, was a contemporary of Ramses XI, the terminal 20th dynasty king. It is likely that he was one of the occupants of the later el Kurru tumuli. The occupant of Tumulus 1 must be a contemporary of the earlier Ramessides. He does not postdate the end of the twentieth dynasty by 200 years. He precedes it by at least 50 years. There is no 200 year gap in the archaeological record. The assumed historical vacuum in Nubia is a fiction, resulting entirely from the same faulty Egyptian chronology which has created archaeological mass confusion elsewhere, in cultures

[144]Bruce G. Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs* (1976) 139.

whose histories are linked to that of Egypt. The New Kingdom temple ritual extends uninterrupted through the reign of Piankhi. Properly understood, the archaeology of Nubia constitutes a powerful and convincing argument in support of our contention that the 20th dynasty kings were followed immediately by the 21st Theban dynasty ancestors of Piankhi.

In view of the importance of the critical transition period between the 20th and 21st Theban dynasties, it is imperative that we examine the final years of the reign of Ramses XI, the terminal 20th dynasty king in the traditional history.

Chapter Eight
Herihor, Piankh & Pinudjem I

Herihor, Ramses XI, & the Wḥm Mswt

The *Wḥm Mswt*

In the revised history the 27 year rule of Ramses XI belongs roughly in the time frame 689-662 B.C.[145] The methodology used to arrive at those dates left considerable room for minor adjustments. As it turns out the dates are remarkably accurate [146]

One of the primary arguments in defense of the accuracy of these dates for Ramses XI relates to the final decade of his reign, during which something quite revolutionary happened in Egypt. In the 19th year of Ramses' reign, for reasons not fully appreciated by Egyptologists, an alternative dating schema was instituted in the south of Egypt by those who had previously dated events solely in reference to the years of this king. Beginning in that 19th year (671 B.C. based on the assumption that 689 B.C. was his 1st year), the years on Egyptian monuments and in numerous papyri were numbered instead in relation to an era bearing the bizarre title "repeating of births", in Egyptian, *wḥm mswt*. Precisely what constituted this new era has been the subject of considerable speculation by scholars, though nothing is to be gained by surveying opinion on the subject. Suffice to say that the new era, which lasted approximately 10 years, is connected in the monuments with the advent of a new regime in Egypt, headed by an obscure figure named Herihor, whose rule not only coincided with the final years of Ramses XI, but apparently superceded in authority and prestige the reign of that terminal 20th dynasty king. We will let Kenneth Kitchen tell the story of this unique time, which he calls the "Renaissance Era". But before we quote Kitchen on the subject we let the noted Egyptologist set the stage, as he

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[145]See table 15 on page 209 and figure 15 on p. 210

[146]We are assuming throughout our discussion that the 20th dynasty kings followed a non-accession year dating system.

describes a prolonged period of social upheaval which *immediately preceded* the arrival of Herihor, a lengthy period of civil unrest wherein took place a "war of the high priest" in which a man named Panehsy, a "king's son of Cush", played a vital role.

> In this epoch, the weakness of the central government allowed the natural geographic regions of south and north to change from areas of mere administrative convenience into distinct political entities. The self-sufficient pride of the Theban hierarchy and weakness of the kings, who lived almost entirely in the northern capitals, helped to accentuate the practical cleavage between south and north which was now to be formalized politically. TIP 209a

In the revised history the events described by Kitchen coincide with the era chronicled by prince Osorkon, the future Osorkon III, on the walls of the Karnak temple near the Bubastite gate, as documented in the 1st book of our *Displaced Dynasties* series. In that earlier book we used the name "great disruption" to refer to this prolonged period of unprecedented civil strife, which followed immediately the night when the "sky did not swallow the moon" in 701 B.C.[147] The "great disruption" began in 701 B.C. and ended in 671 B.C.

In the revised history the dates of Herihor are 671-665 B.C

The reader will immediately see the significance of the dates mentioned. The end of the "great disruption", the arrival of Herihor in the 19th year of Ramses XI, the beginning of the *wḥm mswt*, and the invasion of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, all took place at precisely the same time. The year was 671 B.C. It was the beginning of a prolonged period of foreign occupation of Egypt.

It is one of the unfortunate consequences of the errant Egyptian chronology that Kitchen is unaware of the fact that the time of Panehsy, and the time of the "great disruption" are one and the same. But this is not the time to discuss Panehsy, nor to document his role in the evolving story.

Kitchen goes on to describe the arrival of Herihor and the ensuing revolution called the *wḥm mswt*.

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[147]See *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, chapter 3 (esp. pages 70-73).

> Panehsy's virtual sole rule of Upper and Middle Egypt as well as Nubia was irregular. By Year 19, he had fallen into disgrace, at least in Thebes. Instead, from that year on, a new regime ruled, termed 'the Renaissance' (*wḥm mswt* , lit. 'the repeating of birth'), and in datelines one meets 'Year 1 ..., corresponding to Year 19'. The anomalous union of Upper Egypt and Nubia was now regularized to adapt the administration to the new status quo. A new man, one Herihor, now appeared as High Priest of Amun, as Generalissimo and Army-leader (*ḥ3wty*) - more specifically 'Captain at the Head of the Army of All Egypt' - and also as Viceroy of Nubia to replace Panehsy who was now himself a rebel in Nubia. Thus, for the first time ever, this man united in himself wide military powers, the Theban high-priesthood, and the rule of Nubia. To these he for a time added the office of (southern) Vizier. This was the situation in Year 6 of the 'Renaissance Era'. Northwards, Herihor's rule probably extended to El Hibeh to the north of Hardai (raided by Panehsy) and some 20 miles south of Heracleopolis and the approaches to the Fayum. In Thebes itself, Herihor's accession to power was seemingly endorsed by oracles of the Theban deities, who promised him 20 years of power as their protagonist. TIP 209b

Egyptologists remain perplexed at this usurpation of power by a nondescript army commander with absolutely no pedigree. Herihor says nothing about his ancestry. He claims no dynastic affiliation. He appears on the scene out of nowhere and immediately seems to rule the whole of Egypt, with a status equal to, if not superior to that of Ramses XI. In fact, in all of the literature in which Herihor is mentioned, Ramses at best appears as an absentee landlord. In a moment we will explain why.

By now the reader will have determined precisely what is happening. The 19th year of Ramses XI and thus the 1st year of the Renaissance Era occurs in 671 B.C. in the revised chronology. That same year Assyria ended the period of the "great disruption" by attacking and conquering Egypt. Esarhaddon, the Assyrian king, immediately apportioned rule over the various administrative districts of Egypt to at least twenty kings and princes. We documented this traumatic period in Egyptian history in the first book of our series.

It is our contention that Herihor was the army commander assigned by Esarhaddon the responsibility of oversight over the newly conquered country. Thus his title - "Captain at the Head of the Army of All Egypt." His name is not mentioned in the Assyrian annals because the attention of those documents is focused on the civil administration, not on the occupying army. But from the annals we known that an army of

occupation did remain in Egypt to supervise the new acquired Assyrian state. It was not a large military force, and was consequently unable to suppress a rebellion in 668 B.C. initiated by Takeloth III (Tarqu) following the death of Esarhaddon. This failure made necessary the 667 B.C. 1st invasion of Egypt by Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor. But the resident Assyrian army did successfully discover and quash a second coup attempt in 666 B.C., and was actively involved in the punishments and administrative changes which followed. We assume that Herihor was the central figure in these actions

If Herihor is indeed the head of the Assyrian army of occupation it is important that we review several details glossed over in our earlier discussion of the early years of Assyrian rule in Egypt. There we were concerned only with confirming the fact that the Assyrian invasion took place in a 22nd/23rd dynasty context, this in order to defend our hypothesis of a 121 year reduction of dates for those dynasties. By design, and for obvious reasons, we omitted any reference to the presence of the 20th dynasty, and especially to the involvement of Herihor and Piankh, pending the laying of an appropriate groundwork for their inclusion. We now return to the period of Assyrian domination for a second look, beginning with a reminder of the chronology of the Assyrian campaigns as outlined in our earlier book.

The Assyrian Context

According to the Assyrian annals Esarhaddon conquered Egypt in 671 B.C. and left the country under the administration of an elaborate system of public officials, "(local) kings, governors, officers (saknu), harbor overseers, officials and administrative personnel." He himself never returned. In 668 B.C. he died en route to revisiting Egypt and the crown passed peacefully to his son Ashurbanipal (668-628 B.C.). Takeloth III (Tarqu), a renegade king of the 23rd dynasty, who along with his father Osorkon III had led Egypt in its earlier opposition to Assyria, and who had apparently been banished from Egypt during the 671 B.C. invasion, immediately seized the opportunity to reassert his influence in Egypt. Ashurbanipal responded, leading the first of two expeditions to Egypt. This 1st campaign took place in 667 B.C.

> In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (Tarqu), king of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia (Kusu), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings (and) regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt. He entered and took residence in Memphis (Me-im-pi), the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. (ANET 294)

The rebellion was successfully quashed. Takeloth III was driven southward to Thebes, and ultimately expelled from Egypt entirely, presumably into Nubia. According to his annals, Ashurbanipal confirmed the administrative structure set in place by his father, apparently with little change, though it is possible that some kings who had sided with Takeloth III in the rebellion were removed from office. The annals contain a list of the vassal kings and princes who were confirmed in office following the rebellion. The list is instructive.

> Necho (Ni-ku-u), king of Memphis and Sais (Sa-a-a), Sharruludari, king of Si'nu, Pishanhuru, king of Nathu, Pakruru, king of (Pi)Shaptu, Bukkununni'pi, king of Athribis (Ha-at-hi-ri-bi), Nahke, king of Hininshi, Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-'a-nu), Unamunu, king of Nathu, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnuti, Buaima, king of Pitinti, Shishak (Su-si-in-qu), king of Busiris (Bu-si-ru), Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkananni'pi king of Ahni, Iptihardeshu, king of Pihattihurunpi (ki), Nahtihuruansini, king of Pishabdi'a, Bukurninip, king of Pahnuti, Siha, king of Siut (Si-ia-a-u-tu), Lamentu, king of Himuni (Hermopolis), Ishpinatu, king of Taini, Mantimanhe, king of Thebes; these kings, governors and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt and who had left their offices in the face of the uprising of Tirhakah and had scattered into the open country, I reinstalled in their offices and in their (former) seats of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt (Musur) and Nubia which (already) my own father had conquered; I made the garrisons stronger than before and the(ir) regulations (more) severe. With many prisoners and heavy booty I returned safely to Nineveh. (ANET 294)

The 1st campaign by Ashurbanipal was followed in short order by a second coup attempt, important in this revision because it resulted in an organizational restructuring. In 666 B.C., months after Ashurbanipal's return to Nineveh, several of the administrator/kings conspired to retake their country, in connection with which they sent messages seeking the assistance of Tarqu. The plot was discovered by the resident Assyrian

army and the plot was foiled.

> (But) my officers heard about these matters, seized their mounted messengers with their messages and thus learned about their rebellious doings. They arrested these kings and put their hands and feet in iron cuffs and fetters. The (consequences of the broken) oaths (sworn) by Ashur, the king of the gods, befell them. I called to account those who had sinned against the oath (sworn by) the great gods (and those) whom I had treated (before) with clemency. And they (the officers) put to the sword the inhabitants, young and old, of the towns of Sais, Pindidi, Tanis and of all the other towns which had associated with them to plot, they did not spare anybody among (them). They hung their corpses from stakes, flayed their skins and covered (with them) the wall of the towns(s). Those kings who had repeatedly schemed they brought alive to me to Nineveh. From all of them, I had only mercy upon Necho (Niku) and granted him life. I made (a treaty) with him (protected by) oaths which greatly surpassed (those of the former treaty). I clad him in a garment with multicolored trimmings, placed a golden chain on him (as the) insigne of his kingship, put golden rings on his hands; I wrote my name (phonetically) upon an iron dagger (to be worn in) the girdle, the mounting of which was golden, and gave it to him. I presented him (furthermore) with chariots, horses and mules as means of transportation (befitting) his position as ruler. I sent with him (and) for his assistance, officers of mine as governors. I returned to him Sais as residence (the place) where my own father had appointed him king. Nabushezibanni, his son, I appointed for Athribis (thus) treating him with more friendliness and favor than my own father did. The terror of the (sacred) weapon of Ashur, my lord, overcame Tirhakah (Tarqu) where he had taken refuge and he was never heard of again. (ANET 295)

In our earlier book we dated the second uprising to the year 666 B.C. and the reestablishment of Niku in Sais, and the elevation of his "son" Nabushezibanni (to rule in Athribis) to the following year, 665 B.C. The year 666 B.C. was the 6th year of the "Renaissance Era" on the assumption that it began in 671 B.C. We recall from Kitchen's remarks quoted earlier that the 6th year of the *wḥm mswt* was the year that Herihor added to his titles that of the southern vizier. Apparently the additional title resulted from the fact that Thebes was at that date occupied by the Assyrian army. Herihor, who must have formerly resided in central Egypt, now moved to the south, acquiring the additional benefice.

What we did not stress in our earlier discussion, an omission which must now be corrected, is the fact that the administrative structure of Egypt changed dramatically following the 666 B.C. attempted coup. The

Assyrian annals specifically state that Ashurbanipal proceeded to arrest the kings who were involved in the attempt to overthrow Assyrian rule, and we are further informed that "the inhabitants, young and old, of the towns of Sais, Pindidi, Tanis, and of *all the other towns* which had associated with them to plot" were put to death. The Assyrians "hung their corpses from stakes, flayed their skins and covered (with them) the wall(s) of the town(s)". We are told explicitly that of all the kings who had schemed against Ashurbanipal only Niku was spared. The list of administrators contained in the annals of the 667 B.C. campaign was by the following year obsolete.

"Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-'a-nu)" was one of the casualties of the failed coup. We are not told who ruled in Tanis in place of this king Pedubast. Perhaps no-one did, since the majority of the inhabitants of the city had been slain by the Assyrians.

Ramses XI in Exile

The chronology of the career of Herihor, as outlined thus far, certainly fits the circumstances of the fourth decade of the 7th century. But what about Ramses XI? How is he to be fitted into the already crowded framework of the fourth decade of the 7th century? The answer has already been hinted at. By way of explanation we look back to the beginning of Ramses' reign. The initial two thirds of his kingship fits neatly into the framework of the revised chronology. We have previously argued that the reign of Takeloth II ended around 690 B.C. For at least 16 years following, during much of the period of the "great disruption", there appeared to be no strong claimant to the throne in Thebes. Without fear of contradiction we can place the rule of Ramses XI in the Theban area during those turbulent years (689-673 B.C.). But what about our claim in *Nebuchadnezzar* that Osorkon III began his reign in 673 B.C. and that he elevated his son Takeloth to become king alongside him in 672. Were they not Theban pharaohs? In fact, in our earlier book we avoided making that claim. It is extremely likely that these two kings ruled in central Egypt during the years 673-71, likely in the area of el-Hibeh where Osorkon is known to have exercised his authority as prince. We believe Ramses XI continued to rule in Thebes during the two additional

years (673-671). This situation changed abruptly in 671 B.C. when, according to our revised history, Esarhaddon's army arrived in Egypt. There is no doubt that Esarhaddon conquered the whole of the country, including the Theban area. Though he did not occupy Thebes at this time, his army must have met and defeated the army of Ramses XI. It is our belief that Ramses was not only defeated in battle, he was afterward expelled from the country. Either that or he fled the country voluntarily in order to save his life. Where he went is the only question.

For reasons that will soon become apparent, we argue that Ramses XI vacated the Theban area along with a large multitude of his subjects, and that he and they ultimately ended up in the western desert oasis at Kargheh or Bahariya, exiled, as it were, by Esarhaddon. And therein lies not only the answer to the question of his whereabouts during the critical years of the *whm mswt,* but also a more compelling explanation for that era. It is the fact that Ramses was no longer on his throne in the years 671-662 B.C., visible to the inhabitants of southern Egypt, that prompted officials to use *datelines referenced to the years of his absence*. The *wḥm mswt* is nothing more nor less than the time of Ramses' exile from Egypt during the first ten years of the Assyrian domination of the country.

If Ramses' name is not present in the list of kings preserved in Ashurbanipal's annals, that is the explanation. He may have been the Theban king, but he lived and ruled in exile. And in exile he reigned over tens of thousands of Egyptians who had been deported with him by the Assyrians. In the next chapter, in our examination of the early years of Menkheperre Piankhi, we will find reference to this displaced community. We should not be surprised at this situation. The Assyrians are renowned for deporting entire populations of captive cities in the aftermath of conquest. The Theban area of Egypt was apparently no exception.

But *is* the name of Ramses absent from Ashurbanipal's list of administrator kings? And are there other indications in that list that we are in the time frame of the *wḥm mswt*, the time of Ramses, Herihor and Piankh? These questions suggest the need for a reexamination of the Assyrian list of administrative names, two of which are relevant to our discussion - Mantimanhe, king of Thebes, and Unamunu, king of Nathu.

It is anticipated that we will find in these names further confirmation that the days of Herihor and Piankh overlapped the first decade of the Assyrian domination of Egypt, as they must, judging from the dates assigned them in table 14[148].

Mantimanhe, king of Thebes.

In the initial book in our series we spent considerable time demonstrating that Mantimanhe, the administrator of the Theban district in the aftermath of Esarhaddon's victory over Egypt, is not to be identified as the 4th Prophet of Amun Mentuemhet, as claimed by the traditional history. We will not repeat the argument here. We suggested instead that the name might refer to Mutemhet Maatkare, the wife, and by 667 B.C. the widow of Osorkon III, a woman whose cartouche names on several documents suggested the possibility that she exercised kingship at some time in her life. That possibility, raised in lieu of viable alternatives in our earlier book, is problematic for a variety of reasons, and should now be set aside.[149] *A priori* we might have expected the name of Ramses XI in the Assyrian list (even if he were living in exile), or perhaps Piankh who, according to several papyri, was nominally in control of the pivotal Theban cultus during the latter part of the *wḥm mswt*. Is it possible to see in the name Mantimanhe a reference to either dignitary? The answer is - decidedly yes.

In the monuments Ramses bears the title Menmaatre Setepenptah Ramesses Khaemwase, The prenomen Menmaatre was used singularly by this king on smaller surfaces where the fuller titulary would be cumbersome or awkward. We have already encountered several possible instances of this name when we examined earlier the scarabs from the graves at Carthage. At the time we noted the opinion of several scholars that materials bearing the name of Seti I (Menmaatre) of the 19th dynasty were found in the necropolis of Carthage, founded at the earliest in the 8th

[148]See page 207.

[149]It is possible that Mutemhet Maatkare was the wife of Osorkon II, not Osorkon III, a possibility we will discuss in the third book of this series. This woman was the daughter of Psusennes I who ruled in the north of Egypt during the years 734-688 (if we can trust the revised dates, based on Kitchen's traditional dates, in table 13, p. 201).

century, five hundred years removed from the supposed time of Seti. The only explanation available to the excavators was that the scarabs were amulets, recrafted in the 8th (or 7th) century for sale to superstitious sailors, an opinion we strenuously rebuffed. We promised to explain those anomalous artifacts as occasion arose. In passing we offer here the first of such explanations. Many of the Seti I scarabs must belong to Ramses XI, a namesake king. They were made by Ramses early in the 7th century, during the heyday of Phoenician expansion, precisely when we expect that the Carthaginian necropolis saw the light of day. There is no anomaly involved in the occurrence of his name on artifacts at this time in history. The king was alive and well.

But the name Menmaatre is also of possible relevance in relation to Ashurbanipal's list of administrators. The name of the Theban king in this list is Mantemanhe. With only a single inversion of two consonants *Mntm* becomes *Mnmt*, a reasonable equivalent to the Egyptian Menmaat. Such metathesis of consonants has precedence elsewhere in Ashurbanipal's list. In our earlier book we remarked on the fact that the king named Limintu in the Assyrian list is universally acknowledged to be a king Nimlot. If Limintu can refer to Nimlot, then Mantem could certainly refer to Minmaat. But what of the "anhe" ending, where we expect the name of "Re", the Egyptian sun god par excellence. Assyriologists have chosen to simply transliterate the three cuneiform signs an-he-e which follow "Mantem". But the "an" sign is the common determinative (*dinger* sign) for a king (AN), and the "he" sign following is also an ideograph for "king" (ŠAR). In combination AN ŠAR is a common designation of the Assyrian god Aššur, possibly used here by metonymy for the Egyptian god Re. The final cuneiform sign is problematic, but may simply be a phonetic complement "e" to distinguish the Egyptian god R(e) from his Assyrian counterpart Assur. Such substitution of equivalent god names in dialogues involving two cultures is commonplace in Near Eastern literature, though we wonder at the substitution in a compounded personal name. For this reason, and because Ramses could hardly govern Thebes while living in exile, we question the identification, and consider a second possible rendering of Mantemanhe.

On the assumption that our chronology is correct, the only other possible

identification of Mantemanhe is with Piankh, the commander of the Nubian contingent of the Assyrian army under Herihor. Though Egyptologists are adamant that Piankh was merely an influential army commander and high priest of Amun, the fact that he was succeeded by kings Pinudjem I and Menkheperre suggests otherwise. We will comment more on this matter shortly. For the present we merely enquire whether the name can possibly belong to him. At first glance there appears to be little resemblance to the known names of Piankh. But this opinion is based on the transcription of the original cuneiform signs reproduced in the journals. At the turn of the 20th century at least one influential Egyptologist, Flinders Petrie, a scholar with unique access to the original clay tablets on which the Assyrian annals were recorded, determined that the second "m" in the name should read as a "p". In consequence he argued, in the face of considerable opposition, that the name in this list belongs to a king named Sneferra Piankhy (his Piankhy II), whom he identified as a "local king of Thebes under the Assyrians." In his influential *History of Egypt* he argued that

> The name of the ruler of Nia, Thebes, in the annals of the first expedition of Ashurbanipal, 668 B.C., is Manti-me-ankhe or Manti-pi-ankhi. It has been supposed to be Mentuemhat, but the ending ankhi cannot be intended for *hat*; the uncertain middle sign is therefore probably pi, and the reading is "mer nuti Piankhi." If this is Piankhy II, and the bandage is accepted as reading 40 years or more, it would imply his ruling at 708 B.C. or earlier. This would not be at all impossible for his Ethiopian rule. HE III 291

We can safely omit much of the quoted paragraph. Petrie had some bizarre theories about the Ethiopian period in which he identified at least four kings by the name Piankhi. What is relevant for our discussion here is his revised translation of the Assyrian cuneiform text, and his suggestion that Mantemanhe should be interpreted as a reference to a king named Piankhi. In view of this we should not be overly hasty in discounting the possibility that Piankh (not Piankhi) was given oversight of the Theban cultus by either Esarhaddon or Herihor, and this as early as 671 B.C. We leave the matter there.

Wenamun & Nesubanebdjed

The Travels of Wenamun

The other relevant name in the Assyrian list, "Unamunu, king of Nathu", leads us to examine the life and times of Wenamun, whose colorful adventures on the eastern Mediterranean coast and on Cyprus are recounted in a hieratic papyrus thankfully preserved by the dry Egyptian climate through two and a half millenia. Wenamun's travels took place during the tenure of Herihor, a short time before the 5th year of the *wḥm mswt*.[150] In the traditional history this would be around 1090 B.C.[151] In that history there exists no possibility of any genealogical link between between Wenamun and "Unamunu, king of Nathu". They were namesakes, but they were separated in time by over 400 years. In the revised history the situation is dramatically different. Their identity is not just possible, it is all but demanded by the evidence.

The importance of the Wenamun papyrus is reflected in the fact that Gardiner, in his epic *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, expends fully five pages retelling the tale contained therein. We let him introduce the story:

> This fascinating document was bought in Cairo by Golenischeff in 1891 together with two other literary papyri of which one at all events was written by the same hand. It tells the story of the misfortunes of Wenamun, a Theban sent on a mission to Syria at the very close of Dyn XX. The narrative is dated in a year 5 which, in the light of what is now known, must belong to the Renaissance explained above. Hrihor is the high-priest at Karnak, while Tanis is ruled by that Nesbanebded who subsequently became the first king of Manetho's Dyn XXI. These two great men are on good terms with one another, neither of them as yet claiming the kingship. The real Pharaoh, namely Ramesses XI, is mentioned

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[150]The Wenamum papyrus has a dateline referencing the 5th year of some era. Most Egyptologists believe that the reference is to the 5th year of the *wḥm mswt*. This may or may not be the case. It might also refer to the 5th year of Herihor or the 5th year of Nesubanebdjed. We proceed on the assumption that Egyptologists are correct in this instance. If not, much of the following discussion needs to be amended. The papyrus gives a retrospective account of Wenamun's journey. His travels must have begun a year or two earlier than the 5th year.

[151] The whm mswt began in the 19th year of Ramses XI. The 5th year of this era would thus be the 23rd year of Ramses. Since this king ruled for 27 years the travels of Wenamun took place at least 5 years before the death of Ramses and the end of the 20th dynasty. The 20th dynasty ended in 1087 according to Gardiner; 1080 according to Kitchen. Thus Wenamun's adventures should be dated somewhere in the range of dates 1092-1085 B.C. in the traditional history.

> only once in a cryptic utterance. In such circumstances Egypt was evidently too weak to command respect abroad, and the conversations of Wenamun with the princes whom he met afford a revelation of the contemporary world unequaled in the entire literature of the Nearer East. It is for that reason that, departing from our usual habit, we give in the following pages a virtually complete translation. EP 306

We would be remiss if we proceeded to examine Wenamun's story without first commenting on Gardiner's rather innocuous remark concerning Nesubanedjed. When he states that this Tanite authority "subsequently became the first king of Manetho's Dyn XXI", he is not basing this opinion on any known fact. The first king of Manetho's 21st dynasty goes by the name Smendes. And Gardiner is well aware of the fact that there exists absolutely no evidence that Nesubanebdjed was otherwise known as Smendes. His statement is merely the concluding line in a syllogism that goes something like this. Wenamun's travels took place around the 4th year of the *wḥm mswt*, thus during the 22nd year of Ramses XI, the terminal king of the 20th dynasty. Since Ramses ruled for only 27 years, the 20th dynasty must end within five years. Since *the 21st dynasty followed on the heels of the 20th*, and the 21st dynasty kings ruled in Tanis, Nesubanebdjed, the Tanite ruler, must become the initial king of the 21st dynasty in four years time. Therefore he *must* be identified as the future Smendes of Manetho's list of kings. Let the reader decide where this syllogism breaks down. We have italicized a single line to assist in the deliberation. It is time to return to Wenamun's story.

A detailed examination of the Wenamun papyrus would be interesting, since the narrative describes conditions which existed on the Phoenician coastline in the early days of Ashurbanipal. But our interest is with chronology, not social history, and thus we restrict our comments to a few select passages, beginning with the opening paragraph, where, following the year 5 dateline, we are informed that "Wenamun, the elder of the portal of the state of Amun, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, set forth to fetch the timber for the great noble bark of Amun-Re, King of the Gods". This introductory remark, spoken in the third person, was apparently added to the narrative later, since in the next sentence Wenamun takes up the story, speaking personally.

> On the day of my arrival at Tanis, the place where Nesbanebded and Tentamun are, I gave them the dispatches of Amen-Re, King of the Gods. And they caused them to be read before them and they said: We will surely do as Amen-Re, King of the Gods, our lord has said"

Thus, at the very beginning of the narrative, as good stories are want to do, we are introduced to the central figures, Wenamun and Nesubanebdjed, the former a dignitary acting on behalf of Herihor, the latter an important official residing in Tanis. We learn quickly, as the narrative continues, that Wenamun has been sent to Phoenicia to procure lumber with which to build a "bark" for the god Amun-Re in Thebes. Herihor does not figure prominently in the story. He is mentioned only in passing in an oblique remark by Wenamun who, almost immediately on arriving in Phoenicia, is robbed of the money which was intended for purchase of the lumber, and asks for redress from the local Phoenician authority, the prince of the town of Dor.

> I have been robbed in your harbour. But you are the prince of this land and you are its controller. Search for my money, for indeed the money belongs to Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the lord of the lands, it belongs to Nesbanebded, it belongs to Hrihor my lord and to the other great ones of Egypt. EP 307

It is significant that Ramses XI is not mentioned in this monologue, at least not by name, consistent with our belief that he is absent the country, living in exile. Only much later in the story, in an offhand and obscure reference to envoys of the Ramesside king who had died in Phoenicia, do we have mention of the 20th dynasty king, using his nomen Khaemwase. The Phoenician prince of Dor is speaking to Wenamun.

> Assuredly I have not done to you what was done to the envoys of Kha'emwise when they passed seventeen years in this land and died on the spot. And he said to his butler: 'Take him and let him see their tomb where they lie.' But I said to him: 'Do not make me see it. As regards Kha'emwise, those envoys whom he sent to you were men, and he himself was a man. But you have not here one of his envoys ... EP 311

What are we to make of the persons and events described thus far in the Wenamun story? Egypt is said to be in the control of men named Nesubanebdjed and Herihor and "other great ones", but apparently not Ramses XI, else we should have expected his name to be included. The envoys of Ramses have been confined on the Phoenician coast for 17

years and have died in an apparently "involuntary exile". And these events are taking place in an unprecedented era in which Egyptians, at least in the Theban area, are confused as to who is ruling Egypt, compelling them to number the years according to the date when this chaotic state of affairs began. Who is Nesubanebdjed? And why were the envoy's of Ramses unable to return to Egypt, only a few days journey removed? Our revised chronology supplies the answer.

We assume, along with virtually all Egyptologists, that the dateline of the Wenamun papyrus refers to the 5th year of the *wḥm mswt*, 667 B.C. in our revised history. Wenamun's journey has by this time ended. His travels must have begun, at the latest, the year before, thus in 668 B.C., or perhaps a year earlier. The envoys of Ramses XI must have been sent to Phoenicia at least seventeen years prior, around 685 B.C. Apparently they were prevented from returning to Egypt by some intervening crisis which deprived Ramses of his political authority. The crisis might have been the "war of the high priest", near the end of the "great disruption," or, more likely, the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon and the exile of Ramses himself, an event which deprived the envoys of political status and stranded them in Phoenicia where they ultimately died.

Nesubanebdjed

The identity of Nesubanebdjed is a more difficult question. He is never called a king in the narrative, though he may have been one. His authority seems to be likened to that of Herihor in the only statement that names the latter. That statement, quoted earlier, bears repeating. In Phoenicia, speaking about the stolen money, Wenamen laments that " the money belongs to Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the lord of the lands, it belongs to Nesbanebded, it belongs to Hrihor my lord and to the other great ones of Egypt." We have already identified Herihor as the high priest of Amon in the south of the country and commander of the resident Assyrian army in charge of policing Egypt. It is likely that Nesubanebdjed holds similar benefices in the north of the country, though he is possibly subservient to Herihor. But there is at least one alternative identification to consider.

The alternative is furnished by our timeline. The launch dae of his journey is around 668 B.C. Egypt is governed at this time by at least twenty "kings (and) regents" appointed to the task by Esarhaddon. If so it is at least theoretically possible to identify Nesubanebdjed as the "Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-'a-nu)" whose name is cited in the Assyrian annals of 667 B.C. However, there are problems with this identification, besides the obvious difficulty in explaining the difference of name. From among all the "great ones" of Egypt Wenamun seems to single out Nesubanebdjed for special mention, suggestive of the fact that this individual has some unique status. But in the Assyrian annals Pedubast, king of Tanis, is just one name among many equals. If anything he is inferior to Necho, the king of Sais. Why would he be treated in the Wenamun papyrus as if an equal to Herihor. And if Wenamon is correctly identified as "Unamunu, king of Nathu", himself one of the appointed regents, why does Wenamun appear in the narrative to be subservient to Nesubanebdjed? These criteria combine to negate the suggestion that Nesubanebdjed and Pedubast are alternative names for the same person.

Our ultimate clue to the identity of Nesubanebdjed lies in the nature of Wenamun's mission. He is commissioned by Herihor, acting in his capacity as high priest of Amun in Thebes, to buy lumber for an ark for the Theban temple of Amun. Wenamun is on a religious mission. We should expect that his final port of call would be to Herihor's counterpart in the Amun temple of Tanis, the high priest of Amun in the North of Egypt. In context Nesubanebdjed must be the high priest in Tanis. Egyptologists have correctly identified him as part of the 21st Tanite dynasty of priest/kings, but as we have repeatedly lamented, they have mistakenly identified him as Smendes, the founder of the dynasty. If we are correct he is instead the king named Psinaches by Manetho. We will not belabor the point, since our interest here lies primarily in the Theban branch of the 21st dynasty. But in passing we do provide some substantiation of our claim that Nesubanebdjed is Psinaches.

In our earlier listing of the revised dates of the Tanite 21st dynasty kings (table 13, p. 204) we noted the fact that the priest/king Psinaches was high priest of Amun in Tanis during the years 669-660 B.C. While these dates are "iffy" and are subject to change, they are probably not in error

by more than a few years. As such they appear to confirm the fact that Psinaches was the Tanite cleric during much of the *wḥm mswt*, and more importantly, functioned in that capacity during the time when, according to our revised chronology, Wenamun visited with Nesubanebdjed. What is more, this Psinaches is said by Manetho to be a successor to Osochor, a name most Egyptologists view as a corruption of Osorkon. And he, in turn, is succeeded by a king Psusennes (Psebkhannu), the second Tanite king by that name. At the end of our Appendix C (below, pp. 313-4) we will examine an artifact from the tomb of this Psusennes and see that he was in fact the successor, if not the son, of a high priest of Amun in Tanis named Nesubanebdjed. And we have already, both in this book and in Nebuchadnezzar, confirmed that Psinaches was preceeded by a thirty year period we have called the *great disruption*, a time known as the "war of the high priests" in the traditional history. We should not be too surprised to find a HPA named Osorkon functioning in Tanis in that time frame.[152] If Nesubanebdjed and Psinaches have the same lineage, and lived and ruled at the same time in the same Amun temple, it is extremely likely that they are one and the same person.

This discussion does raise a question the critics are sure to ask. If Pedubast, the appointee of Esarhaddon, was the regional regent/king of Tanis in 668 B.C., as he must have been if he was listed as such in the Assyrian annals dated to the next year, then how do we explain the presence of two powerful dignitaries in the same location in the same time frame? The question is not difficult to answer, but it needs to be asked. The answer lies in the jurisdiction of the office of the two individuals. Pedubast was responsible for the secular administration of local or regional affairs of limited scope. After all, there were twenty such administrators regulating affairs in Egypt for the Assyrians. He was not unique. On the other hand, Nesubanebjed likely administered issues of a more religious nature, and his jurisdiction would encompass the whole of the Nile delta, and southward into central Egypt. He would also be in control of the Amun temple treasury in the north of the country. It was apparently in the latter capacity that he was called upon by Herihor to

[152]If found, this Osorkon will likely turn out *not to be* the father of Psinaches/Nesubanebdjed, since our Appendix C document specifically states that the HPA Nesubanebdjed was the son of an otherwise unknown Menkheperre. The fact that we have difficulty at present identifying this Osorcho should not be surprising. Followers of the traditional history have the same difficulty.

release money (gold or silver?) to purchase building materials for use by the Amun temple in Thebes. There is no contradiction.

We are impressed with the timing of Wenamun's travels vis-à-vis the revised chronology. Our revised dates for Herihor's "reign" and Ramses' 19th year were arrived at with little or no thought of their relation to the Assyrian occupation. Yet in both instances the year 671 B.C. appeared near at hand allowing us to make only the slightest of adjustments to the numbers in order to arrive at the "coincidental" sets of correspondent elements discussed earlier. And it is fortunate that Wenamun began his travels before the 5th year of the *wḥm mswt*, rather than a few years later. According to Kitchen Herihor died in the seventh year of that era (665 B.C. in the revised history). And according to the Assyrian annals Pedubast was deposed and much of the population of Tanis was slaughtered in the 6th year (666 B.C.). We are not sure if the Amun temple in Tanis was also damaged, but if so then, at least for a few years, Nesubanebdjed/Psinaches may well have moved his residence elsewhere. Considering this timeline it is significant that Wenamun's adventures were ancient history by the year 666 B.C. The fact that his travels were dated in the first half of the *wḥm mswt* is fortuitous, to say the least. But then we have been most fortunate every time we have displaced dynasties by hundreds of years. It always seems to happen that events fall nicely into place in the new location.

We will say little else at this time concerning Herihor. Since our interest lies more in Piankh than in Herihor, we leave the matter there.

Herihor-Piankh Succession

For much of the 20th century it was considered that Piankh, a "king's son of Cush" and commander of the southern army under Herihor, was a son of that same Herihor. The opinion was based on a 19th century misreading of an inscription in the temple of Khonsu, an error only recently recognized and rectified. There is, in truth, no reason to suspect a family connection between the two individuals, other than the fact that Piankh is deemed to have succeeded Herihor in office, if only for a brief period.of time. But even that opinion is suspect.

In table 11 on page 190 we listed Kitchen's dates for the 21st Theban dynasty. In that table Herihor's term in office lasted 6 years, from 1080-1074 B.C. Piankh succeeded him and lived an additional 4 years (1074-1070 B.C.). In the revised history, with the Theban kings moved into the 7th century, the tenures of Herihor and Piankh respectively fall in the years 671-665 and 665-661 B.C. But was Kitchen correct in his assignment of these relative dates?

In the revised history Piankh acted as the commander of a Nubian contingent of the Assyrian army in Egypt. It is our belief that he functioned in that capacity from the onset of the Assyrian occupation in 671 B.C. through to the end of the *wḥm mswt*, around the year 661 B.C. Kitchen's dates ought to reflect this extended term in office, whether or not Herihor died in the interim. We will discuss this aspect of the life of Piankh in more detail below.

We also question Kitchen's dates for Herihor. The supposition that he died in the 7th year of the whm mswt, thus in 665 B.C., and was succeeded by Piankh as "commander of the army of all of Egypt," is predicated entirely on the belief that at least by year seven of the Renaissance period Piankh bore the title High Priest of Amun, which formerly he supposedly did not possess. On the assumption that there could not exist two contemporary high priests, Kitchen argues that Herihor must have died by that date. But this reasoning is flawed.

In the first place any argument about when Piankh became "high priest of Amun" is necessarily an argument from silence. There exist only a few inscriptions and papyri that reveal any detail about this intriguing character. It is conceivable that he bore the title through the duration of the *wḥm mswt*, a possibility that leads to our second point.

We argue additionally that there is no necessary objection to the fact that two high priests existed at the same time. We know that during the time of the great disruption (701-671 B.C.), in a conflict known as the "war of the high priest", there existed multiple claimants for the title of "high priest of Amun." Egyptologists are also unanimous that during the 21st dynasty there always existed at least two high priests of Amun, one in the north and one in the Theban area. That circumstance must have prevailed

at least into the period under consideration. And we should add yet another high priest into the mix. We have previously argued that the Napatan area temple cultus continued through the time in question. We cannot imagine how that temple would function without its own high priesthood. It follows therefore, that at the time of the Assyrian domination of Egypt there would have existed at least three high priests of Amun.

Even if Herihor did relinquish the high priestly title in 665 B.C., it does not follow that he died that year. We reasoned earlier that in the 6th year of the *whm mswt* Herihor added to his titles that of the southern vizier, indication that the Assyrian army had by this time moved south to occupy Thebes. The move resulted from the several coup attempts involving Tarqu (Takeloth III), whose residence up to this time appears to have been in the Theban area. Soon thereafter, on the walls of the Khonsu temple in Thebes, in inscriptions and reliefs, Herihor depicted himself as a king. It is entirely possible that by this date he had relinquished the high priesthood to Piankh. But he is not deceased. He is now a self-styled king, looming larger than life.

It will be our contention in the pages which follow that Herihor continued in office through the duration of the *whm mswt* and died in 661 B.C. On his death Pinudjem, a son of Piankh, claimed the throne. Since Piankh is not Herihor's son and did not succeed him in "office", Herihor's dates have no further bearing on our revision. Our primary interest is with the Piankh-Pinudjem-Menkheperre succession.

While we argue that the "reign" of Herihor should be extended to 661 B.C., Kitchen is possibly correct that Piankh died around that same year, perhaps only months after the death in exile of Ramses XI in 662 B.C., an event which effectively ended the *wḥm mswt*.[153]

There is at least one positive argument for excluding Herihor from the genealogy of Piankh, namely, the sequence of names of the priest/kings

[153] In our first book we argued that Ashurbanipal was engaged in a third campaign in 661 B.C., fighting with Tushamilki, king of Musur and Gyges, king of Lydia, in south-eastern Anatolia. The Assyrian army contingents controlled by Herihor and Piankh may well have been called into service in support of the main Assyrian army, and Herihor and/or Piankh may have been casualties of this conflict. This, of course, is only speculation.

who succeeded him. Those names, with one notable exception, are Nubian[154], not purely Egyptian as is the name Herihor. In fact, the sequence of names Piankh, Pinudjem, Menkheperre, Pinudjem is yet another strong argument supporting our contention that the third name in this sequence, Menkheperre, is an adopted name. It is purely Egyptian and clearly distinctive when compared with the other names. As such it is completely out of place. On the assumption of patronymy in the naming process, we would have expected the name Piankh(i) in that position. The fact that this *a priori* expectation agrees completely with our thesis is a compelling argument for its accuracy.

If Piankh and his son Pinudjem are in fact the grandfather and father respectively of Menkheperre Piankhi, it is clearly imperative that we examine the inscriptions related to each of them. We begin with Piankh.

Piankh

Piankh is known to have inscribed but a single monument. Additionally he is credited with authorship of several papyri and his name appears on several bandage epigraphs and dockets from the Deir el Bahri tombs. Nowhere is he referred to as a king, though like Herihor he may well have entertained aspirations to kingship in some limited sense. His only extant monument pictures him enthroned as a king, though self styled as a prince. Flinders Petrie suggests for him some quasi royal status. We should remember, as we read Petrie's interpretation of the monument, that in his day it was believed that Piankh was Herihor's son.

> This prince, though he inherited the high priesthood, does not seem to have ruled independently. It is supposed that Herhor left Thebes to consolidate his power in the north, and appointed his eldest son as high priest to rule in the south. Only a

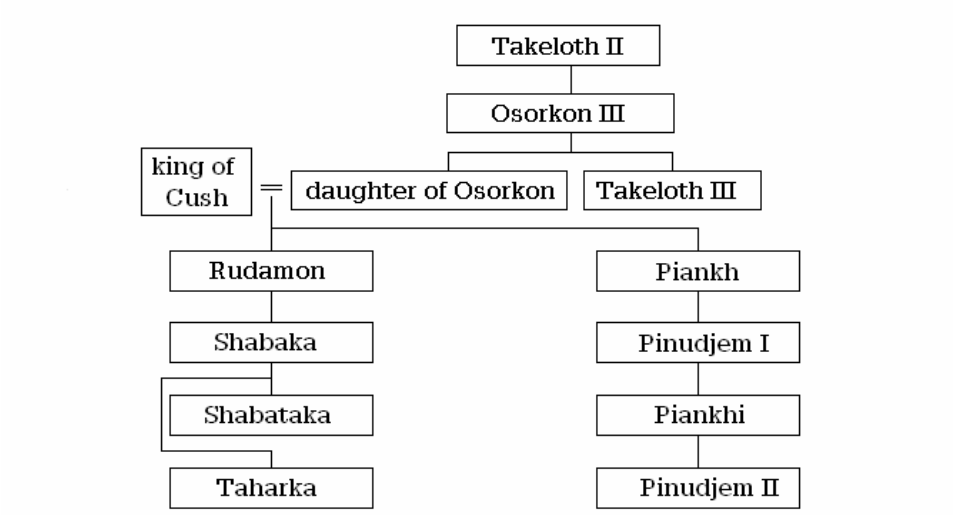
[154]We should perhaps qualify our claim that the names Piankh and Pinudjem are Nubian. They are not spelled out with consonantal hieroglyphs as are the names of 22nd dynasty kings such as Osorkon, Sheshonk and Takeloth. Instead they are all compounds of the identical Piye with the addition of the hieroglyphic ideograms "ankh" and "nudjem", signs which mean respectively "life" and "sweet". As such the *Pi* might be taken as a definite article and the names might be read as "the living one" and the "the sweet one" respectively. Some Egyptologists have read them in roughly this manner and in consequence consider the names to be purely Egyptian. But the opinion is a minority one, and even if correct, the resulting names are exceptional in structure and quite atypical. They can only be regarded as epithets.

> single monument of him is known, a stele, on which he is called the royal fanbearer, scribe, general, prince of Kush, chief of the southern lands, high priest of Amon, chief of the granaries and chief of the archers. The title prince of Kush shows that he was not independent at that time, and there is no proof that he survived his father. HE III 203

A better explanation of the title "prince of Cush" used by Piankh is provided by the present revision. We suggest that Piankh calls himself a prince of Cush (king's son of Cush) because he was the son of a Cushite king, unnamed in the monuments. There is no other reasonable explanation of this epithet. Several possibilities arise by way of explanation.

On the one hand, bearing in mind our discussion of the genealogy of Rudamon and Shabaka discussed in the first book of this series, there is a possibility that Piankh, like Rudamon, might be the offspring of a marriage alliance between an unnamed daughter of Osorkon III and a Cushite king.[155] The situation is diagrammed below as our figure 17.

Figure 17: First Possibility for the Genealogy of Piankh

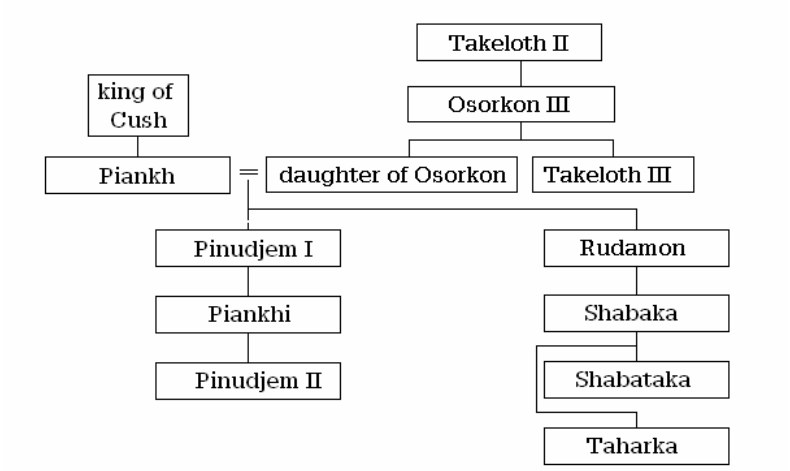


[155]In our first book we speculated on the possibility that the Cushite king might be the Melukhkhan king Shabataka named on the Tang-i-Var inscription (see figure 19 on page 100 of the earlier book). We now set aside that speculative element and refer to the husband of Osorkon's daughter merely as a Cushite king.

In this scenario Piankh and Rudamon are brothers, both nephews of Takeloth III (Tarqu), and both grandsons of Osorkon III. This genealogy, if true, would explain both the affinity of the two family groups and their mutual attachment to both Napata and Egypt. On the one hand they were related to the 23rd dynasty kings. On the other were in line for the Napatan throne. They claimed both Egypt and Cush as their homeland. Many of them lived their lives ruling parts of Egypt; yet retired to Napata to die.[156] This dual allegiance would continue for the next 100 years to influence the lives of the offspring of both lines – being evident first in Piankhi, grandson of Piankh and then in the 25th dynasty offspring of Rudamon –Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka

A second possibility for the genealogy of Piankh, still maintaining the dual connections with Osorkon III and the Cushite kingdom, is one in which Piankh and Rudamon were not brothers, but rather father and son. This alternative is diagrammed below as figure 18.

Figure 18: Second Possibility for the Genealogy of Piankh



[156]The graves of Piankhi (Menkheperre), Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka at Barkal and Nuri, in the vicinity of Napata, have been found. We suspect that Rudamon and Piankh were also buried in the Barkal cemetery, though their graves have not been identified. Their remains have never been found in Egypt. The bodies of Pinudjem I and Pinudjem II were discovered in Egypt in DB320, and over a hundred descendants of Piankh were buried in the "second find" at Deir el Bahri. These Egyptian tombs are discussed later in this chapter.

There are many attractive features in this second possibility.[157] Piankhi and Shabaka are now more closely related (first cousins) and of the same generation, which agrees favorably with our conjectured history of their relationship. The king of Cush, their mutual great-grandfather, may well be the Shabataka, king of Melukhkha, discussed in our earlier book. The timeline here agrees more favorable with that hypothesis than does the earlier genealogy.

In either scenario we have an explanation for a potential criticism of our revised timeline. We have assumed throughout our discussion a fact which is confirmed in our treatment of the late Ramesside letters which follows, that Piankh was the commander of a Nubian contingent of the Egyptian army stationed in the extreme south of the country, possibly ranging as far south as Napata. And he functioned in this capacity into the tenth year of the *wḥm mswt* (671-662 B.C.), thus during the years when Takeloth III (Tarqu), and then Rudamon, attempted to overthrow the Assyrian occupation force in Egypt. How is it that these 23rd dynasty Cushite kings were able to enter and leave Egypt seemingly at will, without being opposed by Piankh and the southern army. The answer is provided by the genealogy of Piankh. It is all but certain that Piankh sympathized with the insurrections, at least in part because the leaders of the rebellion were his close relatives. Takeloth III and Rudamon were not the only ones who wanted to remove the Assyrian intruders. In the pages that follow we will see that Piankh's son Pinudjem entertained similar notions, and that his grandson Piankhi, in 638 B.C., finally expelled the Assyrians from the country.

The Late Ramesside Letters

Before we shift our attention to Pinudjem, son of Piankh and father of

[157]In our earlier book we discussed why, in the midst of the turmoil of the "great disruption", Osorkon III might have given his daughter in marriage to a Cushite king in order to secure his southern border. It makes even more sense that he would give his daughter in marriage to a son of the Cushite king. We might even conjecture a guess as to the identity of the daughter. It is well known that a daughter of Osorkon III named Shepenwepet functioned in the capacity of God's Wife of Amun in the Karnak temple in Thebes, where (presumably) Piankh held the rank of high priest. Assuming that Egyptologists are wrong, and that God's wives were not celibate, the possibility that Piankh was married to Shepenwepet needs to be entertained.

Piankhi, we should examine briefly several of the papyri which allude to Piankh's military actions in Nubia, part of the collection of documents known generally as the "Late Ramesside Letters", edited by Cerny[158] in 1939 and later, in 1967, collated, translated and provided with commentary by Edward Wente[159]. This collection consists of approximately 50 papyri and fragments, remnants of correspondence (letters) between Theban officials and various military field officers, all contemporary with Ramses XI, and most from the final years of the *wḥm mswt*. Collectively they provide an intriguing picture of social conditions in the south of Egypt in the final years of the 20th dynasty.

Gardiner describes the collection at the conclusion of his translation of the Wenamun papyrus.

> We now stand on the threshold of an entirely different Egypt, but before we pass to the consideration of Dyn. XXI mention must be made of an important series of letters discovered early in the nineteenth century and now scattered among many museums and private collections. The excellent edition by J. Cerny shows that they are all concerned with the life and doings of a scribe of the royal tomb at Thebes named Dhutmose and with his son Butehamun, together with their relatives and friends. Much of the contents turns upon domestic affairs, but there are many allusions to current historic events. Hrihor's son and heir pay'onkh is now the high-priest of Amen-Re and it is certain that he never claimed the kingship. The correspondence seldom mentions him by name, but no doubt it is he who is often alluded to as the 'Commander of the Army'. The close relationship between this exalted personage and Dhutmose was due to the latter acting as a sort of agent for him at Thebes, while Pay'onkh was engaged on a campaign in the south, apparently against the former King's Son of Cush Pinhasi. The kinsfolk of Dhutmose express great anxiety for the safety of Dhutmose in his journeyings to bring weapons and other supplies to his chief. Almost a dozen letters emanate from Pay'[onkh] himself, written by his secretaries in a trenchant style. In three almost identical letters to his mother Nodjme, to Dhutmose, and to another official, the general instructs them to stop the mouths of two madjoi-policemen who have spoken indiscreetly by killing them and having them thrown into the river by night. It would be interesting to known the exact reason for so sinister an order, but at least it testifies to the unhappy state of affairs prevailing at this troubled moment in Egyptian history. There are added to the letter addressed to Dhutmose some words that can hardly be construed otherwise than as a reference to the absentee Ramesses XI: 'As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land? Whose master is Pharaoh still? HP 313-314

[158]Jaroslav Cerny, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XI) (1939).
[159]Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC 33) (1967).

According to Wente's analysis of the "chronology of the letters", the majority date to the 10th year of the *whm mswt*. But only two of the papyri are actually dated, one to the 2nd year and one to the 10th. We suspect that Wente's conclusions are wrong.[160] Having said that, it is probably true that most originate from between years 6 and 10.[161] All but a few of these confirm that Piankh was the general in command of an Egyptian army fighting an unnamed enemy in Nubia. This does not imply that he is fighting against Nubia; only that he is defending Assyrian interests in Nubia against an unspecified intruder, identified by Gardiner, and less confidently by Wente, as Pinhasi.. Only two of the papyri provide us with information relevant to our current discussion. Both are alluded to by Gardiner. We look briefly at each.

In none of the late Ramesside letters is there any mention by name of the ruling party in Thebes. Scholars assume that most of the letters were written after Herihor had died, but there is no evidence that this was so. Ramses XI is the sole Egyptian pharaoh throughout, though it is assumed, again without evidence, that Ramses is merely absent from Thebes, perhaps travelling in the north of Egypt, and that Piankh is temporarily in control of the city. But the only papyrus that specifically mentions the pharaoh, in the passage quoted by Gardiner above, clearly implies that Ramses is out of the country, a fact consistent with our claim that he is

[160]Wente in his *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC 33) (1967), dates the letters by developing a hypothetical itinerary for Dhutmose, the scribe of the royal tomb. He argues that all of the letters which appear to originate from the Nubian area were written in the year 10 because he assumes that Dhutmose only made one trip to the south in response to needs expressed by Piankh. That trip took place in the year 10 according to one of the two papyrus letters that actually bears a date. On page 5 of his article Wente admits that "the assumption that all the letters written by Dhutmose from the south relate to a single expedition is tentative." On page 6 he reiterates this word of caution. "The reader is warned, however, that this conclusion is based on my assumption that Dhutmose made only one trip to Nubia. If this assumption is not correct, we are faced with a highly complicated situation with regard to the relationship of the letters one to another." In our revised history the general Piankh was commander of the Nubian contingent of the Assyrian army. Dhutmose would not have made a single trip south to supply Piankh with requested items; he would have made dozens of such trips. We can safely disregard many, if not most of the year 10 datings assigned by Wente to various papyri, particularly the eight papyri to which the noted Egyptologist affixes a question mark beside the year 10 date. These include letter number 21 discussed below.

[161]These dates are important. If Piankh replaced Herihor in office in the 7th year of the *whm mswt* we wonder at the secrecy which surrounds his actions in many of these papyri. If Piankh has no superior in office, then who or what is he afraid of? Our previous argument concerning Herihor's duration in office is germane here. Only if Herihor remains as Piankh's superior, and Piankh is concerned that his indiscretions may be discovered, is his stealth explicable.

living in exile.

The papyrus in question is the first papyrus fragment of interest to this revision (Berlin 10487, no.21 in Cerny's numeration). It is written by "the general of (the) Pharaoh," i.e. Piankh, "to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy". The quoted statement concerning Ramses XI is unambiguous concerning the pharaoh's loss of political influence. Piankh's few remarks take on added significance in the revised context in which we place his letter. "As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land?[162] Whose master is Pharaoh now?" Wente dates this letter to year 10 of the *whm mswt*, further proof that his dating schema is likely flawed (see note 160). Ramses XI is still referenced as if he is alive. Yet Ramses ruled for only 27 years. We have dated his reign in the years 689-662. He died in the 10th year of the *wḥm mswt*. It is possible, of course, that the letter was written only a short time before Ramses' death, or even a short time after the fact, assuming that news of the event had not yet reached Piankh.

The second relevant papyrus (British Museum 10375, no.28 in Cerny's numeration) is in all likelihood related to the letter we have just finished quoting. Both the former letter (#21) and this letter (#28) allude to the killing of the majoi policemen mentioned by Gardiner. But this papyrus, written by the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon to the general Piankh, suggests a reason why the majoi needed to be killed. It alludes to a previous order issued by Piankh. That order was for Butehamon to excavate one of the tombs in the king's valley (the necropolis), leaving its seal intact until Piankh's return.

> Now see you have written saying, "Uncover a tomb among the foremost tombs and preserve its seal until (I) return," so said he, our lord. We are executing commissions. We shall cause you to find it (still) affixed. Made ready is that which we know. You are to dispatch the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy to cause him to come so that he may look for an inspector for us. Indeed we get going and go astray, not knowing a place for our feet. (papyrus 28)

Apparently the general Piankh was involved nefariously in a series of late

[162]Some would suggest that "this land" in the relevant passage is a reference to Nubia, where Piankh is engaged in military exercises. But the phrase actually enquires how pharaoh could reach "the land" (p'y t'), not this land, and in context it can only refer to Egypt as Gardiner suggests.

20th dynasty tomb robberies mentioned elsewhere in multiple documents, especially in the Amherst and Meyer A & B papyri. The frequency of these robberies intensified during the latter years of Ramses XI, not surprising considering that those years, in the revised chronology, correspond to the time of the Assyrian occupation. It is likely that the majoi policemen, whose executions were ordered by Piankh, were about to inform someone, perhaps Herihor, about the thefts.

We will return momentarily to examine the tomb robberies. *They are an extremely importance part of our argument.* Much of what we know about the 21st Theban dynasty priest-kings Piankh, Pinudjem I, Menkheperre and Pinudjem II, derives from epigraphs they left on the mummified remains of the kings and queens preserved in the Deir el-Bahri tomb DB320, bodies no doubt recovered from the tombs they robbed. And as the reader might already have guessed*, the remains of these ancient pharaohs, robbed of their treasures, provided the inspiration for the borrowing of names which has contributed so significantly to the chronological confusion we are attempting to unravel.*

Pinudjem I & Psusennes II

Pinudjem I

According to Egyptologists, Pinudjem was the son of Piankh and the father of Menkheperre, a fact supported by numerous bandage epigraphs on the mummies from DB 320.[163] There is no doubt that during his life he functioned both as high priest of Amon and king. At question only are the dates when these titles were held. We have previously expressed our opinion that both his high priesthood and his kingship should be dated from the time of his father's death in 662 B.C. In our opinion, supported by the content of the Maunier papyrus (to be examined shortly), he died in 638 B.C. in his 25th year, and yielded his titles to his son Menkheperre.

[163]The HPA Pinudjem consistently refers to himself as the son of Piankh, confirming a paternal relationship. Without that genealogical addendum there is no way, other than context, of distinguishing Pinudjem I and II, nor for that matter, of determining whether some other Pinudjem is being referenced.

The traditional history knows almost nothing of the activities of Pinudjem during his 25 years as HPA and king. His mummy was found in DB 320, its wrappings in some disarray but with the book of the dead intact between his legs. The body was resting in the coffin of the 18th dynasty king Aakheperkare Thutmose I, the grandfather or father of Thutmose III (depending on which interpretive tradition we follow). The body of Thutmose I, removed from its coffin, was deposited elsewhere in the same tomb. The inscription on the coffin had been altered to read simply "king Pinudjem", omitting any throne name. Only the incomplete erasure of the name of Thutmose I allowed the excavators to determine the original owner of the coffin.

We ask the obvious question. Why did Pinudjem, or those who buried him, disposess Thutmose I and steal his coffin? The answer follows naturally from remarks made moments ago. We believe that Pinudjem, during the years of his high priesthood, following his father's example, robbed Thutmose's tomb, and disinterred the 18th dynasty king. We also believe that a few years later, on becoming king, he stole Thutmose's name. In the previous chapter we detailed the results of the anatomical investigations of the mummy of Thutmose I. According to those findings the body belonged to an 18 year old youth who could in no way be identified with the king Aakheperkare Thutmose on the monuments, a king who ruled Egypt for around ten years and who successfully invaded and conquered both Syria and Nubia. From that observation we determined that there must be two kings bearing the identical name - Aakheperkare Thutmose, the 18th dynasty king who died prematurely, and the conqueror of Syria, whose identity was hinted at but not disclosed in our earlier discussion. We now identify him as Pinudjem I.

It is clear from these remarks that a fourth 18th dynasty namesake king must be introduced into the 7th century. We recall from our analysis of the Annals of Menkheperre how Piankhi, on reaching the Euphrates during his 8th campaign, boasted of setting up a tablet east of the great river "beside the tablet of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare"[164] At the time we argued that Piankhi may have been referring to an 18th dynasty "ancestor" by that name, one toward whom he felt some affinity, since he had recently adopted the titulary of that king's

[164]BAR 478.

(grand-)son Thutmose III. Though this interpretation remains viable, we now suggest otherwise. We believe that sometime during his kingship Pinudjem adopted as his own the titulary of the 18th dynasty king Thutmose I, and in that name set out to free Egypt from its 26 year long domination by Assyria. The monuments which describe the whirlwind conquest of Syria as far as Niy on the Euphrates, as well as several expeditions southward into Nubia, must belong to him. This rapid territorial expansion is at least consistent with the thesis expressed in the first book in our series, namely, that Assyria continued to exercise nominal control over Egypt until late in the reign of Ashurbanipal, when age and internal strife weakened the Assyrian king's hold on his most distant provinces.[165] A detailed study of the history of Assyria, Syria and Palestine during the years 662-638 B.C. should prove fruitful in demonstrating the accuracy of our claim. But such an endeavor would deflect our attention from the task at hand. We leave the matter for another time or another researcher.

The identification of Aakheperkare Thutmose with Pinudjem I is not entirely dependent on the fact that Pinudjem borrowed the coffin of the earlier king, in effect identifying himself as that king's replacement. Nor is the 7th century date assigned this second Aakheperkare supported only by the fact that his Syrian and Nubian wars fit perfectly in the late Assyrian time frame assigned to him in the revised chronology. The results of at least two other archaeological excavations combine to support the identification. We refer to the unearthing of the tombs of Ramses XI and Psusennes II. It is imperative that we examine both tombs.

The Tanite Tomb of Psusennes II

In the early years of World War II Pierre Montet, excavating in the ruins of Tanis in the Egyptian Delta, stumbled on the long sought tombs of several of the most prominent 22nd/23rd dynasty kings, Osorkon II, Takeloth II, and Sheshonk III. In the same temple enclosure he also

[165]It is not necessary to assume that Egypt freed itself from Assyrian suzerainty at this time. Pinudjem might have been acting in league with Assyria to put down insurrection in the Euphrates region.

found a large compartmentalized tomb containing multiple members of the 21st dynasty family of Aakheperre Psebkhannu, identified by Montet, following the traditional history, as Psusennes I, son of Nesubanebdjed (Smendes I?), the supposed founder of the dynasty. Hopes were raised in scholarly circles that new light was about to be shed on the history of the two dynasties, particular on the problematic Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty. But almost immediately a host of problems surfaced, not the least of which were several indications that the family vault which enclosed the remains of Psusennes, and several members of his extended family, actually postdated the time of Osorkon II!

On the one hand it was clear that the tomb of Psusennes was constructed later than the tomb of Osorkon II (occupied also by the remains of Takeloth II). Those who constructed the 21st dynasty tomb were apparently unaware of the existence of, or the extent of, the tomb belonging to the 22nd dynasty kings, and in consequence were required to dismantle a section of one wall of Osorkon's tomb in order to complete their own construction. It is probable, based on other considerations, that they used the opportunity to rob the earlier tomb.

Further evidence that the tomb postdated the time of Osorkon was forthcoming from the enclosure site itself. About thirty years ago the details were reviewed by the revisionist Immanuel Velikovsky in the second book of his *Ages in Chaos* series. We reproduce his comments below.

> Psusennes, son of the Nesubanebded who figured in the travels of Wenamon as the military prince with a residence in Tanis, inherited from his father the residence and the title, and added to it those of high priest and first prophet of Amon, the titles of his father-in-law Herihor, and on a number of occasions used the title "king". In this northern capital, in the compound of the great temple area, Psusennes built an enclave of his own surrounded by a massive wall of bricks. The temple area was explored by Pierre Montet, the identity of the builder of the enclave was immediately obvious to him: in the northeast corner of it there was a foundation bearing the name of Psusennes; that name was also on many bricks of the walls of the enclosure.
>
> In a corner between the temple and the brick wall Montet discovered the tomb of the same priest-prince. But instead of being strengthened in his first expressed view that the enclave was erected by Psusennes, Montet found himself obliged tor evoke it:
>
> "This view expressed in our recent publications is not correct. Now we

> know that the great temple in its final form dates from a much later date because under the northeastern and southwestern corners we have found deposits of Osorkon II and in the south-eastern corner a deposit of Nectanebo I [Neckht-nebef]."
>
> Of course, a pharaoh of the eleventh century before the present era could not have built on foundations from under which comes a deposit made by a king of the ninth or eighth century.[166]

Velikovsky was setting out to prove that the 21st dynasty postdated the 22nd dynasty by upwards of four hundred years, an impossibility according to this revision. But in his appraisal of the evidence from Tanis the famed revisionist is essentially correct. There is no getting around the fact that Psusennes must have ruled years after the death of Takeloth II, who is arguable the latest occupant of the tomb of Osorkon II.[167] In the revised history Takeloth II died in 689 B.C. Psusennes must be dated at least several decades later (sufficient time for the location of the tomb to be forgotten considering the political turbulence of the intervening years).

We accept the argument of the traditional history that Aakheperre Psebkhannu (Psusennes), the occupant of the Tanite tomb, was the son and successor of a king Nesubanebdjed. We also agree that he was the 21st dynasty HPA, resident in Tanis, encountered by Wenamun at the beginning of his travels. But Nesubanebdjed was not Smendes, the founder of the 21st dynasty. We have dated Wenamun's meeting with Nesubanebdjed to the 3rd or 4th year of the *wḥm mswt*, 669/8 B.C. If Aakheperre Psebkhannu is his son, then this Psebkhannu cannot be Psusennes I, who ruled from 734-688 B.C. in the revised history (see table 13, p. 204). Instead, he must be Psusennes II, the second of the namesake kings of the 21st Tanite dynasty.[168] According to Manetho

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[166]Immanuel Velikovsky, *Peoples of the Sea* (1977) 152-53.

[167]The tomb did contain an infant son of Osorkon II named Harnakht, who was undoubtedly brought into the tomb after Takeloth II, from his original burial site elsewhere. We discuss this reburial of Harnakht in our Appendix C.

[168]Throughout the balance of this book this renumbering of the kings named Psusennes by Manetho will be a source of possible confusion. The reader should be constantly mindful of the context of each reference, particularly in quoted material. When the traditional history talks about Psusennes I they are discussing Montet's king Aakheperre Psebkhannu. When they talk about Psusennes II they are referring to another king by the name of Tyetkheperure Psebkhannu. In the revised history these two kings change position.

This is perhaps a good context in which to discuss one otherwise insignificant find in the tomb of Montet's king Aakheperre Psebkhannu. It concerns the 21st dynasty priest/king named

Psusennes II was the last king of that dynasty. We have dated his reign in the years 660-646 or 660-625 B.C., depending on whether we accept the data provided by Eusebius or Africanus.[169]

There are many bits of evidence supporting our contention that Aakheperre Psebkhannu belongs in the time of the Assyrian occupation of Egypt. The fact that his tomb contained the remains of a 22nd dynasty king Heqakheperre Sheshonk, otherwise unknown and therefore most reasonably dated to the chaotic years of the great disruption or to the time of the Assyrian domination, is at least consistent with our hypothesis.[170]

Nephercheres who, according to Manetho, immediately followed Psusennes I and ruled for 4 years. If the traditional history is correct he should follow Montet's Psusennes. On the other hand, in the revised history, where Aakheperre is identified as Manetho's Psussenes II, Nephercheres must have preceded him by about a quarter century. Up until the middle of the 20th century the very existence of this king was suspect. No monument existed bearing his name. But that situation changed abruptly with the excavation of Psusennes' tomb when Montet found two gold bow-caps bearing the twin cartouches of both Psusennes and a king named Neferkare Amenemnisu. According to Kitchen, who is representative of scholarly opinion on the matter, "This at once confirmed the existence and provided the identity of 'Nepherkheres', besides linking him firmly with Psusennes I, in so far as the two prenomens and two nomens were grouped together in pairs and not by separate kings." (TIP 56)

These bow caps could not possibly be viewed by scholars as confirmation of the traditional history unless the reigns of the two kings overlapped significantly, allowing either Psusennes the opportunity to associate himself with *king* Neferkare, or for Neferkare to affix his cartouche names alongside those of *king* Psusennes on a gift. And scholars have found the notion of overlapping reigns difficult to accept. Thus they position Neferkare immediately preceding Psusennes, ignoring Manetho. Kitchen provides a representative discussion of the reasoning: "However, if the association of names on the bow-caps merely indicated a wish of Psusennes to link his name with his predecessor's for some reason, then no co-regency need be postulated. One would assume that Psusennes I wished merely to emphasize his legitimacy and the continuity of the kingship on this ceremonial object (and perhaps on others?), and that this piece ended up in his tomb as a personal heirloom from his earliest years, and a ceremonial weapon for the hereafter. (TIP 56)

We agree wholeheartedly with Kitchen, except on one point. Neferkare did not *immediately* preceded Psusennes, as Egyptologists argue. According to the dates suggested earlier he died twenty-four years before Psusennes' reign began, after a very brief reign. That reign fell near the start of a prolonged period of civil disruption we have called the "great disruption" and Egyptologists call "the war of the high priest". We assume that Neferkare died as a result of this conflict and that his successors Amenophthis and Osochor may have been interlopers. While it is unlikely that Neferkare was Psusennes' father, he may well have been his grandfather, or related in some other way The bow under consideration undoubtedly originally belonged to Neferkare and as Kitchen suggests, the engraved bow caps merely express "a wish of Psusennes to link his name with his predecessor's."

[169]There is considerable controversy surrounding the dates of this king. Either the short or the longer reign length can be accepted without seriously conflicting with the inscriptional evidence. We prefer the longer of the two reign lengths.

[170]It is possible, though not likely, that the tomb was originally constructed for this Sheshonk and that Psusennes (or those who buried him) merely dispossessed the original occupant, moving his

Additionally, the burial of king Heqakheperre included "a pectoral which had originally been inscribed for 'the Great Chief of the Ma, Chief of Chiefs, Shoshenq, son of the Great Chief of the Ma, Nimlot, justified, and a pair of bracelets of Shoshenq I as king."[171] In our Appendix B we identify this second king Sheshonk, not as Sheshonk I, but as a king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk who lived and ruled near the end of the reign of Sheshonk III, thus near the beginning of the Assyrian domination. Under no circumstances can he be dated earlier than the first quarter of the 7th century.

Psusennes' throne name Aakheperre, and the impoverished state of the tomb in which he was buried, also argue for the 7th century context in which we place him. We have already noted that Aakheperre Sheshonk V ruled in Bubastis in the same general time frame (656-618 B.C.) while Aakheperre Osorkon IV ruled in Memphis at the end of that period. Both of these kings were merely regional kings or nomarchs. Psusennes meagre funerary trappings suit this 7th century environment perfectly. Nothing in his burial suggests that he was the all powerful ruler of the north of Egypt that he is made out to be in the traditional history. Perhaps the shared throne name suggests the fact that there existed some family ties between the 21st, 22nd and 23rd dynasty kings named Aakheperre.

One other find from Psusennes' tomb is even more telling vis-a-vis the dating of this king. Two objects in his tomb, a cylinder found on the mummy of Heqakheperre Sheshonk[172], and a neck bracelet from the mummy of Psusennes himself[173], contained cuneiform inscriptions. The inscriptions took the excavators completely by surprise. Assyriologists were called in to assist in translation. As Montet explained to E. Dhorme, to whom the bracelet inscription was assigned for translation, "the discovery of cuneiform signs in a royal tomb in Egypt is such a rarity" that he had no specialist on hand to read the inscription immediately. According to Dhorme the inscription identified the

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body into the vestibule. But the tomb walls bear no inscriptions of Sheshonk, suggestive of the fact that his body was a late addition to the tomb. Perhaps this king should be identified with the prince Sheshonk, commander of the army at Busiris at the time when Piankhi invaded the Delta.

[171]Kitchen, TIP 93.

[172]Pierre Montet, Les Constructions et le Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis (1951) 46-48

[173]Ibid., pp 139-143.

necklace as the property of a lady Napalte, made for her by the great vizier Ibashi-Ilou. It was an Assyrian artifact. The cylinder was apparently from the Akkadian period, an heirloom, apparently a gift to Sheshonk from an Assyrian king.

The original dates of these two objects are immaterial. They are probably, though not certainly, heirlooms.[174] What intrigues us is not what they say but whence they came into Psusennes' tomb. The fact that he was wearing the necklace suggests that he received the gift personally. The same can be said for the cylinder found among other personal artifacts alongside the body of Sheshonk. Only the revised history provides a satisfactory explanation. Both kings lived and ruled as subject kings in the administration of Ashurbanipal's Egypt. They were no doubt funerary gifts from Assyrian officials. We can understand why Assyrian objects would appear in 7th century Egypt, as at no other time in Egyptian history.

One last funerary artifact brings us back to the reason we digressed and examined Psusennes tomb. It was our stated belief that his tomb would confirm Pinudjem as a 7th century king, ruling during the time of the Assyrian domination. A single artifact achieves that objective. In Psusennes crypt lay a chalice, inscribed by and in all likelihood a gift from Pinudjem, son of Piankh. The two kings were apparently contemporaries. Thus everything which identifies Psusennes as a 7th century king, ruling during the Assyrian domination, also confirms Pinudjem in that same setting. In arguing that the reigns of Pinudjem and Psusennes overlapped we are in agreement with the traditional history. But we identify the Tanite Psusennes as Psusennes II, not Psusennes I. And we date the beginning of the reign of both kings within two years of one another, at the end of the fourth decade of the 7th century B.C., upwards of four hundred years later than their dates in the traditional history.

One last tomb remains to be examined before we leave Pinudjem behind.

[174]A search for an Ibashi-Ilou in the late Assyrian period may prove fruitful.

The Tomb of Ramses XI

Pinudjem I was a thief. In all likelihood he opened the tomb of Thutmose I and stole that kings crown jewels. He also pilfered his coffin and borrowed his name. But his thievery did not end there. Evidence suggests that he also confiscated the tomb of Ramses XI and used it for his own burial. A word of explanation is in order.

The location of the tomb of Ramses XI has been known at least since the time of the Copts, who used it to house their animals and as temporary living quarters. As such it was of little interest to archaeologists, having been swept clean of all artifacts save the partially completed murals on its walls, which provided only one item of historical interest - an inscription of Pinudjem I superimposed on a Ramesside text. The tomb was clearly unfinished. Apparently something prevented its use by Ramses. The revised history provides the explanation. Ramses had been driven from Egypt in his 19th year. He died in exile. His body has never been recovered. Pinudjem, or those who buried him, opportunistically appropriated the abandoned tomb. We surmise that Pinudjem was initially buried at this site.

Only recently did interest in the tomb resurface. One feature in particular attracted the attention of the archaeologist John Romer, who in 1979 began excavations of the tomb on behalf of the Brooklyn Museum. In the center of the vaulted burial chamber, recessed almost 100 meters into the tomb, lay a large vertical shaft or pit, roughly 3 by 5 meters square. Romer guessed that the pit might conceal a “hidden door” entering into another corridor or chamber. He carefully remove the debris. The contents were surprising.

> What Romer did find were three of an original four foundation deposits placed at the corners to the mouth of the shaft, and a good many objects which had been tipped into the shaft at the end of the New Kingdom and later - the topmost layers including the remains of a burnt 22nd dynasty burial with fragments of its cartonnage covering and a wooden coffin, and sundry Coptic pieces. Within the undisturbed layers at the bottom of the shaft, Romer was surprised to find ‘broken pieces of burial equipment of several New Kingdom pharaohs’: ‘two fragments of an extremely large blue faience vessel that bore the Horus name shared by Tuthmosis I and Ramses II’; fragments of gilded gesso, some perhaps hacked from the coffin of Thutmoses III; the chopped up remains of royal funerary

> statuettes originating in KV 34 [the king's valley tomb of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre], two with yellow hieroglyphs incorporating the throne name of Thuthmosis III; fragments of a female pharaonic coffin, presumably belonging to Hatshepsut; and three calcite 'lost contour shabtis of Ramesses IV.[175]

How do we explain the presence of artifacts bearing the names of the 18th dynasty kings Thutmose I and Menkheperre Thutmose in a tomb built by the 20th dynasty king Ramses XI (who lived three hundred years later) and occupied for the first time by Pinudjem I of the Theban 21st dynasty. In the revised history the explanation is readily at hand. Artifacts of Pinudjem I bearing the borrowed names of Thutmose I, and perhaps even some artifacts of the 18th dynasty king stolen from his tomb, would have been placed in Ramses tomb at the time of Pinudjem's interment. And that interment would have been supervised by Pinudjem's son Piankhi, who had by this time adopted the names of Thutmose III. We are not surprised to find his name accompanying that of his father. Everything in the undisturbed layer at the bottom of the shaft fits perfectly the circumstances of the time of Pinudjem as outlined in the revised history. The identification of artifacts supposedly belonging to Hatshetsup is conjectural at best. They may well belong to Pinudjem's wife Maatkare, whose name is patterned after that of Hatshetsup.

Romer's explanation of the artifacts is strained: "Evidently, during Pinudjem I's reign, the tomb had been used as an ad hoc workshop for processing material from the burials in KV20 (Hatshetsup), KV34 (Thutmosis III) and conceivably KV38 (Thutmosis I)"[176] We let the reader judge the reasonableness of this proposal.

There is more to be said concerning Pinudjem, but additional remarks must await our discussion of the beginning of the reign of his son Menkheperre, a subject reserved for the following chapter.

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[175]Nicholas Reeves & Richard Wilkinson, eds. *The Complete Valley of the Kings* (1996)172-73.
[176]Ibid., p. 173

Chapter Nine
Descendants of Pinudjem I

Pinudjem I (continued)

In our previous chapter we outlined a scenario in which Pinudjem, the father of Menkheperre, occupied the office of High Priest of Amun for 16 years (662-646 B.C.) and then assumed a kingship, localized in the area of El Hibeh in north central Egypt, which lasted for another nine years (646-638 B.C.). For much of his tenure in office he was a contemporary of Aakheperre Psusennes, our Psusennes II, incorrectly identified by Montet as Psusennes I of the 21st Tanite dynasty. Sheshonk V of the 22nd dynasty, and Rudamon, the grandson of Osorkon III, were contemporaries. We also argued that Pinudjem adopted the name of Aakheperkare Thutmose, an 18th dynasty pharaoh whose tomb he apparently robbed and whose coffin inscription he altered, claiming the coffin as his own.

We also suggested an alternative scenario in which the kingship of Pinudjem I began in his first year and ran in conjunction with his high priesthood for the first 15 years, and then independently for the next nine years, as Masaharta was elevated to that office to assist his father. This possibility certainly exists, and would be more consistent with a thesis discussed below, namely, that the year dates on the documents which provide the basis for the chronology cited above are all referenced to the duration of Pinudjem's combined high-priesthood/kingship. Those year dates would make more sense if Pinudjem were king throughout the entirety of his 25 years in office.

Clearly there is need to review the documents which undergird this chronology.

The Chronology

Fully half of the relative dates assigned to the 21st Theban dynasts are

derived from the dockets and bandage epigraphs on the mummies processed by these priest/kings and deposited in the Deir el Bahri tombs. The others are found in inscriptions on sundry monuments. Unfortunately, though apparently dated to the year of a reigning king, few of the Deir el Bahri documents provides the name of the king. The result is confusion and disagreement among scholars. To engage the debate fully would take us far afield. Fortunately the most relevant data, that which relates to Pinudjem and his two sons Masaharta and Menkheperre, is summed up in a few sentences provided in an article by the Egyptologist Eric Young.[177]

According to Young:

> Documents mentioning Pinudjem I as H.P. only are dated between years 1 and 15 of an unnamed king, presumably Psousennes I. His son *M3-s3-h3rti* as H.P. has documents of years 16-19 of an unnamed King. His younger son *Mn-ḫpr-Rᶜ* as H.P. has documents dated in years 6, 7, 25, 40, and 48, whilst *Pᶜi-nḏm* I himself, as king, has a document dated in year 8, which can be associated, because of the handwriting, with those of years 6 and 7 of *Mn-ḫpr-Rᶜ*. The document of *M3-s3-h3rti* of year 16 mentions *Pᶜi-nḏm* I as king, whilst those of years 25,40, and 48 of *Mn-ḫpr-Rᶜ* also mention *Pᶜi-nḏm* I as king, although not necessarily alive. Can any or all of these documents refer to regnal years of *Pᶜi-nḏm* I, or do some or all refer to years of the Tanite kings?

Scholars continue to debate the possible answers to Young's final question, though the majority conclude that at least the year 1-15 inscriptions of Pinudjem I, the year 16-19 inscriptions of Masaharta, and the year 25 inscription of Menkheperre all relate to the years of the Tanite king Psusennes I. It is further agreed that Masaharta's high priesthood must have paralleled the kingship of Pinudjem I, i.e. that Pinudjem elevated his eldest son to the high priesthood, and thus to control of the army, in the 16th year of Psusennes, 646 B.C. in the revised chronology. That sixteenth year document names both Masaharta as high priest and his father Pinudjem as king, providing some support for this schema. This interpretation is certainly possible but is not the only one in vogue. It was rejected long ago by no less an authority than Pierre Montet, the excavator of Tanis, who theorized that all of these year dates should be assigned to Pinudjem, beginning with the start of his high priesthood and

[177]Eric Young, "Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty," JARCE 2 (1963) 101-2.

continuing through his kingship. Our proposal is only a step removed from that of Montet. We argue that Pinudjem became both king and priest in 662 B.C. and that the year dates from 1 through 25 are his regnal years.

Since we have proposed in our table 13 (p. 204) that the rule of Psusennes II began in 660 B.C., only two years after the beginning of Pinudjem's high priesthood, insofar as our chronology of the reigns of Pinudjem I and Menkheperre is concerned it not really critical which of these theories holds. But for the record, we do believe that all dates used by the Theban pontiffs relate to the years in office of Theban kings, unless specifically informed otherwise.

It appears from the Maunier Stele (see below) that Menkheperre was already high priest in the year 25 of his father, but not yet king, and the conclusion follows that Masaharta must have predeceased Pinudjem I by upwards of a year, and that Menkheperre functioned as high priest for about a year before his father died. This must be the case if we accept Kitchen's argument that the high priesthood of Masaharta lasted for nine years.

The only problematic document referred to by Young, that which supposedly refers to the 8th year of Pinudjem I as king and is somehow associated with the early years of Menkheperre, is discussed briefly below on page 257 and again in Appendix C. In our opinion this 8th year refers to the reign of Pinudjem II and has no bearing on our discussion of the kingship of Pinudjem I.

The year 6 and 7 documents mentioned by Young, those which name Menkheperre as high priest, must refer to the 6th and 7th years of Menkheperre's kingship, and should therefore be dated to the years 633 and 632 B.C. respectively. We will discuss in due course the year 40 and year 48 documents naming Menkheperre, and demonstrate that these documents refer to the years of Menkheperre's kingship, which began in 638 B.C. Later we will also argue that Menkheperre continued as both high priest and king for at least the first 15 years following 638 B.C., and then called upon several of his sons to assist. It should not seem strange that Menkheperre Piankhi might choose, especially early in his kingship,

to continue performing some of the duties of a high/priest. We have already suggested that his father did the same for the first 16 years of his reign, until relieved by Masaharta. And we have witnessed the passionate devotion to Amun of this priest/king both during the Tefnakht rebellion, and again, over a decade into his kingship, when he took a nostalgic look back at his youthful encounter with the god Amun, when he was a young priest in the Karnak temple (on the Coronation Stele). And we are mindful of that same devotion manifest in the Annals during the twenty years of his Syrian campaigns. In a moment we will see the same fervor exhibited during his first days in office as described on the Maunier Stele. For Piankhi the priesthood was apparently more important than the kingship. As we have argued once before: once a priest, always a priest.

Before we leave behind our discussion of the formative years of the Theban 21st dynasty we need to tarry briefly to clarify our position regarding the dating system employed by these priest/kings. We agree with Egyptologists, against Montet, that high priests did not number the years of their pontificates. That is, in part, the reason we extended the kingship of Pinudjem back to the year 661 B.C. In fact, as we will soon see, at no time was this Theban dynasty ever without a king, and all dates on their documents refer to the years of the reigning king, almost exclusely the years of either Pinudjem I, Menkheperre, or Pinudjem II. The kingship of Pinudjem was followed immediately by that of Menkheperre, then briefly by Pinudjem II and Psusennes III. Menkheperre's son Smendes, like Masaharta son of Pinudjem I, was HPA only, this taking place during the reign of his father. In cases where the king has elevated a son to assist him, effectively giving up the high priesthood (as did Pinudjem when he elevated Masaharta), then the high priest consistently dated his years in office by the years of his father, the king. It is not an unusual system. As we will soon see, it continued through to the end of the dynasty. It ought not to have resulted in mass confusion on the part of scholars, as has been the case.

This must suffice as an overview of the chronology of the early years of the 21st Theban dynasty. We have spent considerable time detailing various aspects of the "reign" of king Pinudjem. We would like to move on and discuss issues related to his successors, Menkheperre in particular.

But before we do we need to discuss two remaining aspects of his life, both potential subjects for debate if and when critics respond to our proposals. One relates to our claim that Pinudjem I adopted the name Aakheperkare; the other to the documents which we claim were authored by him using this name. We treat these two issues separately and in sequence.

Who is Kheperkhare Pinudjem?

Regarding our claim that Pinudjem adopted the name Aakheperkare Thutmose we expect strong reaction from the critics. The argument will surely be raised that the titulary names of Pinudjem I are otherwise well known and do not at all correspond to those of Thutmose I. According to the textbooks Pinudjem as king adopted the prenomen Kheperkhare and a distinct five-fold titulary bearing almost no resemblance to that of the 18th dynasty Thutmose. How do we explain the inscriptions belonging to the king Kheperkhare Pinudjem?

The fact that Pinudjem I became king is well established. On *his* burial shroud Pinudjem II, grandson of Pinudjem I, refers to himself as the "HPA Pinudjem, son of Menkheperre, son of *king* Pinudjem". As well, the bandage inscription of Masaharta to which we have just alluded, clearly refers to the kingship of Pinudjem I. And the borrowed coffin mentioned earlier contains the name of Pinudjem as king, enclosed in a cartouche. Several other artifacts also attest his reign.

What is not so clear, though accepted as fact by all scholars, is that king Pinudjem I adopted as a prenomen the name Kheperkhare in addition to the other names of a complete titulary. If this were the case then our hypothesis that he also adopted the name Aakheperkare Thutmose would be in jeopardy, it being possible, but unlikely, that he possessed two completely different five-fold titularies. But are the scholars correct? Certainly the three inscriptions just mentioned, those most clearly and closely identified with Pinudjem I, fail to add this prenomen. Is it possible that another king Pinudjem ruled in roughly the same time frame and has been confused with Pinudjem I? If so the most likely candidate is Pinudjem II.

The inscriptions of king Kheperkhare Pinudjem are relatively abundant, but none of them supply any genealogical references which would confirm that the name belongs to Pinudjem I as opposed to Pinudjem II. There is no rationale for assigning all monuments bearing this name to the first Pinudjem other than the *assumption* that the second Pinudjem never became king. But that assumption is in turn based entirely on the *assumed* absence of monuments attesting the kingship of the second Pinudjem, circular reasoning at its worst, and also an argument from silence which, in this instance, is entirely the creation of the scholars. What else should we expect but silence if all the monuments attesting the kingship of Pinudjem II have been mistakenly assigned to someone else. Only one piece of physical evidence even remotely connects Kheperkhare with Pinudjem I. Two funerary chests inscribed with the names of Kheperkhare Pinudjem were found in DB320 *near* the coffin of Aakheperkare Thutmose, that which once contained the body of Pinudjem I - hardly the basis for an identification. And there are several positive reasons for arguing that Kheperkhare is Pinudjem II.

We have already observed that all of the documents produced during the years of Pinudjem I and Masaharta, up to and including the first year of Menkheperre, are referenced consecutively and consistently to years 1 through 25 of an unidentified dignitary, assumed by most scholars to be Psusennes I, and by a few others, including Montet, to belong to the high-priest/king Pinudjem I himself. In this system the kingship of Pinudjem is said to have begun either in the 16th year of Psusennes I as king or the 16th year of Pinudjem as high priest. But the only dated inscriptions of king Kheperkhare Pinudjem, a pair of bandage epigraphs on mummies from DB320, both refer to year 8 of this king. If Kheperkare is Pinudjem I, and if Pinudjem's kingship began in the 16th year of this sequence, then we must infer that he adopted a numbering system for his regnal years different from that found on the other documents, most of which are also bandage inscriptions. Masaharta, for example, continues to number his years consecutively beginning with the number 16, while Pinudjem, his father, who is now king, supposedly chooses to start anew at the number 1. This is improbable to say the least. Of course, this argument does not apply if Pinudjem's high priesthood and kingship began at the same time, in year 1 of the sequence, an assumption unique to this revision.

Additionally, we observe that the only inscription which provides a titulary name (other than a nomen) clearly connected with king Pinudjem I, a wall inscription on the Luxor Temple where the name of Pinudjem I is otherwise prominent, contains a Horus name of the king which differs significantly from that of Kheperkhere Pinudjem found elsewhere, suggesting, if it doesn't prove, that the two kings should be distinguished.[178]

One series of inscriptions might have settled the matter out of hand. Unfortunately the evidence has been badly handled. Apparently the mummified remains of Pinudjem I found in DB320 did contain several bandage inscriptions containing the king's prenomen. Unfortunately there remains a question regarding the transcription of the name. According to Maspero, in his massive publication of the Deir el-Bahri finds, *Les momies royales de Deir el Bahari*, published in 1889, the mummy bandages several times cite the prenomen Kheper**ka**re[179] (not to be confused with Kheper**kha**re). This is arguably a shortened form of the name Aakheperkare, which name (according to our thesis) Pinudjem borrowed from the 18th dynasty king whose coffin he usurped. This evidence would argue for the present thesis. But in a list of errata at the end of Maspero's book, volume I in the series of *Memoires* published by the *Mission Archeologique Francaise Au Caire*, the noted Egyptologist (or more likely the editors of the series) modified the earlier reading, arguing instead that the name in all instances should read Kheperkhare. What is fundamentally clear is that this adjusted reading was not based on a reexamination of the bandages. It is likely that Maspero was, by the time of publication of his book, domiciled in France, while the mummy and inscribed bandages (assuming they were preserved) were in Cairo. We assume that the change was made in hindsight, based entirely on probabilities. Maspero (or his editors) believed, as did all scholars, that king Pinudjem I had adopted the prenomen Kheperkhare. The name Kheperkare on his mummy made no sense in light of the traditional history. Ergo the name change in the errata based entirely on the *assumption* that an error had been made in the original transcription. But if an error was made it was made multiple times since the inscribed

[178]Both begin with the ubiquitous title Ka Nakht (strong bull) but then diverge. Cf. H. Gauthier, Le Livre Des Rois D'Egypte III, 250 XXIV and note 1.
[179]Ibid, p. 251 XXIX, cf. note 1.

prenomen was present on multiple bandages. This is, *a priori*, very unlikely, more so since the "ka" and "kha" hieratic signs do not at all resemble one another. A reexamination of the mummy might settle the question, though chances are slim to none that the evidence remains intact.[180]

In the absence of evidence to the contrary we assume that the prenomen Kheperkhare belongs to the second, not the first Pinudjem. The presence of several funerary boxes bearing his name in the vicinity of a coffin which had once been occupied by the mummy of Pinudjem I, his grandfather, hardly qualifies as an objection.[181] Beside that same coffin were two other chests bearing the name of the high priest Pinudjem, son of Piankh, i.e. Pinudjem I himself. Surely the first Pinudjem was not buried with two entirely distinct sets of funerary artifacts (ushabtis?).

The Inscriptions of Pinudjem I

The second problem alluded to earlier is related to the identification of the monuments of Pinudjem I. If he adopted the name Aakheperkare Thutmose, then which monuments bearing this name belong to him, and which belong to the 18th dynasty king whose name he borrowed. . There exists some difficulty separating the inscriptions of the two kings named

[180]Even if the bandage inscriptions did read Kheperkhare the traditional history has a problem. The names were placed on the linen and the bands of the mummy, clearly after the death of Pinudjem I. There is no other inscription indicating they were the names of the deceased. They could as easily, and perhaps more justifiably, be identified as the names of his grandson Pinudjem II, who buried him. Names on bandages, usually but not always preceded by the phrase "ir.n" (made by), were more often than not placed there to identify the donor of the linen.

[181]The critic may object by arguing that the mummy of Pinudjem II was identified only as that of a high priest, "son of Menkheperre and grandson of king Pinudjem.I". If Pinudjem II was a king when he died, why did he not so identify himself. There are several adequate responses to this hypothetical question. In the first place we observe that the genealogical inscription on the mummy of Pinudjem II is not overly concerned with titles. Menkheperre is assigned no rank at all, in spite of the fact that he is known to have been both high priest and king. We note also that the two funerary chests which lay alongside the coffin of Thutmose I in DB320 (see immediately below), those clearly identified with the burial of Pinudjem, son of Piankh, i.e. Pinudjem I, were inscribed only with the name of "the high priest Pinudjem". They make no mention of *his* kingship, confirming an observation we will make repeatedly throughout the discussion which follows, that the high-priests/kings of this dynasty appear to have held the high priesthood in more esteem than the kingship. They regarded themselves, first and foremost, as clerics.

Aakheperkare, since there exist many parallels in the early years of their kingships. It is therefore imperative that we examine the relevant inscriptions to determine which, if any[182], were authored by Pinudjem I. Perhaps our effort will shed further light on his "reign".

The military successes of the 18th dynasty king Thutmose I, insofar as they are portrayed in the history books, are determined largely on the basis of the tomb inscriptions of two of his most famous generals, Ahmose pen Nekhbet and Ahmose son of Ebana, in addition to those of one other official, an architect named Ineni. According to these three sources Thutmose I should be credited with an invasion of Nubia early in his kingship followed soon after by moderately successful battles against Asiatics in the vicinity of the Euphrates. No dates are given. These inscriptions are consistent with the anatomical results on the mummy of the king which suggest that Thutmose I died while very young. All of these officials served multiple 18th dynasty kings. Ahmose pen Nekhbet was active under six kings/queens (Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, II, and III, and Hatshetsup); Ahmose son of Ebana under three (Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I); and Ineni under four (Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II and Thutmose III), a fact which argues strongly that all of these kings had relatively short reigns. Thutmose I in particular reigned for only a brief few years.

But there are other monuments which present a slightly different picture, in which the chronology of Egypt's dealings with Nubia and Syria does not agree with the accounts provided by the two Ahmoses, consistent with our belief that they are authored by a different king. Two in particular, the king's coronation decree and a stela from Tombos, are sufficient to illustrate the alternative view.

The Coronation Decree of Aakheperkare Thutmose

According to Breasted

[182]It is possible that none of the monuments which name Aakheperkare Thutmose, at least those discussed below, belong to Pinudjem I. The discussion related to Pinudjem's kingship, based on the Coronation and Tombos inscriptions, is not a necessary part of our argument.

> This unique document is a royal decree *issued on the king's coronation day* to the viceroy of Nubia, Thure, informing him of the king's accession, fixing the full titulary, the royal name to be used in the oath. Thure's official residence was doubtless Elephantine, for he is charged to offer oblations to the gods of that city, and it was he who put up the records of Thutmose I's return from his Nubian campaign, at the first cataract. He then caused the decree to be cut on multiple stelae and set up in Wade Halfa, Kubban, and probably also Elephantine. BAR II 54 (emphasis added)

The inscription begins with an announcement of the king's coronation and a complete rendering of his adopted titulary:

> Royal command to the king's son, the governor of the south countries, Thure (*Tw-r3*) triumphant. Behold, there is brought to thee this [command] of the king in order to inform thee that my majesty has appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the Horus-throne of the living, without his like forever. Make my titulary as follows:
> Horus: "Mighty Bull, Beloved of Maat"
> Favorite of the Two Goddesses: "Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Great in Strength"
> Golden Horus: "Goodly in Years, Making Hearts Live;"
> King of Upper and Lower Egypt: "Okheperkere;"
> Son of Re: [Thutmose], Living forever, and ever." BAR II 55-56

The inscription goes on to request the institution of offerings on the king's behalf in the Elephantine temple. It provides the name of the king's mother, Seniseneb, and the exact day of the coronation, the 21st day of the seventh month in the civil calendar, and then it abruptly ends.

Breasted rightly describes this inscription as a "unique document". It is difficult to fathom the circumstances which might have led to its creation. In Egypt, as in most Ancient Near Eastern cultures, the death of one king and the accession of his successor occur simultaneously. In theory the "feast of the coronation" celebrated the day in the civil calendar when this transition of power occurred, and as such it marked the time of change from one year of the king to the next.[183] The first such feast should not

[183]We have already encountered one such typical "feast of coronation" When Menkheperre began his 1st Syrian campaign the Annals recorded his setting out and arriving at Thure in his "Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), on the twenty-fifth day" (BAR II 415). Several lines later it is stated that in the "Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the fourth day, the day of the feast of the king's coronation, (he arrived) at the city, the possession of the ruler, Gaza." (BAR II 417) On the day of a usual "feast of the king's coronation" the regnal

take place till a year after the king came to power, much as one celebrates a wedding anniversary beginning precisely one year after the wedding. But here the stela appears to be concerned with advertising a coronation celebration which takes place *during* the king's first year in office. It closes with a dateline advertising that we are within the first year of the king, not at the beginning of the second. The stela reads: "**Year 1**, third month of the second season (seventh month), twenty-first day, the day of the feast of coronation." (BAR II 60). This is no ordinary coronation feast. What is happening? We can only guess.

In 662 B.C. Ramses XI died in exile. Thebes was left without a legitimate king. Piankh died that same year and Pinudjem inherited the rank of HPA. Apparently he took advantage of the situation and, privately at least, declared himself king. No doubt he solicited and received the agreement of the Assyrian authority. But there remained the task of announcing the fact to his constituency in the Theban area, in order to receive appropriate recognition. Thus this directive to the viceroy Thure. The "coronation feast" was his way of publicly celebrating what was by now a *fait accompli* and announcing to his subjects his (borrowed) titulary

This interpretation of the circumstances behind the stela's creation serves to explain why such an announcement was necessary in the first place and why the stelae were erected only in the extreme south. It is difficult to comprehend the need for such an announcement if the author of the stela was truly Thutmose I, the successor of Amenhotep I and sole ruler of Egypt. It makes more sense to view the document as the work of an otherwise inconsequential Egyptian priest, with some family ties to Nubian lands south of Thebes, announcing a coronation that might otherwise be overlooked, and instituting ritual offerings which might otherwise not be given.

It is clear that the stela inscription is as much concerned with announcing the new names of the fledgling king as with declaring the fact of his kingship. The titulary contains at least one element of interest. We remarked earlier that a Horus name belonging to Pinudjem I, part of a series of inscriptions at the Luxor temple which refer consistently and

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year increased by a single digit. This was typical.

often to Pinudjem as a high priest[184] (further proof that his high priesthood and kingship overlapped - high priests did not possess Horus names), bore only the slight resemblance to the Horus name of Kheperkhare described elsewhere. But the Luxor temple name ("Mighty Bull, beloved of Amon"[185], does compare favorably with the Horus name of Aakheperkare in the coronation stele ("Mighty Bull, beloved of Maat"). Such minor alterations in titulary names are commonplace.

Interesting and suggestive though it is, the coronation stele provides no data which connects it unambiguously with Pinudjem I. Nor does it provide detail regarding Pinudjem's kingship. For that information we turn our attention to the Tombos stele.

The Tombos Stela

A second relevant text is "engraved on the rocks on the island of Tombos, just above the third cataract of the Nile"[186], again demonstrating Aakheperkare's preoccupation with Nubia. Like the coronation inscription this text begins (after a dateline citing the 15th day of the second month of the king's 2nd year) with a complete five-fold titulary, essentially identical to that contained in the coronation inscription. The author boasts that already, at this early date, only a year and a month into his reign, he is already the undisputed ruler of the whole of Egypt, Nubia, and Syria. His sovereignty over Nubia is attested both by the location of the inscription, and by large sections of the inscription itself:

> He hath overthrown the chief of the [Nubians]; the Negro is helpless, defenseless in his grasp. He hath united the boundaries of his two sides, there is not a remnant among the Curly-Haired, who come to attack him; there is not a single survivor among them. The Nubian Troglodytes fall by the sword, and are thrust aside in their lands ... BAR II 71

To the north Thutmose's domains extended as far as the Euphrates River, which he refers to as the land of "the inverted water". The concluding paragraph, which constitutes fully half the length of the inscription,

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[184]Gauthier Le Livre Des Rois D'Egypte III 246 XI A - J
[185]Ibid., 246 XI D
[186]This according to Breasted who provides the translation used below.

describes the limits of his Syrian possessions:

> (He) brought the ends of the earth into his domain; (he) trod its two extremities with his mighty sword, seeking battle; *(but) he found no one who faced him*. (He) penetrated valleys which the (royal) ancestors knew not, which the wearers of the double diadem had not seen. His southern boundary is as far as the frontier of this land, (his northern) as far as that inverted water which goes downstream in going up-stream. The like has not happened to other kings; his name has reached as far as the circuit of heaven, it has penetrated the Two Lands as far as the nether world ... Subject to him are the isles of the Great Circle (Sn[w].wr, Okeanos), the entire earth is under his two feet, bodily son of Re, his beloved, Thutmose, living forever and ever ... BAR II 73 (emphasis added)

We cannot help but wonder, if this document is authored by Thutmose I, how that young king managed to conquer domains fully as extensive as those of his famous (grand-)son Thutmose III, all in slightly over a year in office. It behooves us to explain the incongruity of these boastful remarks vis-a-vis the life of the 18th dynasty Thutmose, and how they mirror precisely the circumstances of the life of Pinudjem I. Then we must move on.

Documents of Thutmose I

We have already mentioned that the military life of the 18th dynasty Thutmose is provided in capsule form in the tomb inscriptions of two of his generals, Ahmose pen-Nekhbet and Ahmose son of Ebana. Those two inscriptions agree in describing an Egyptian invasion of Nubia early in the king's tenure in office, followed by a campaign in which battles were fought in Naharin at the bend of the Euphrates. There is no ambiguity about the order of events - first the conquest of Nubia, then successful battles near the Euphrates. Though no year dates are provided in these tomb inscriptions, Egyptologists are emphatic in stating that the Nubian campaign began in year 2 and finished in year 3 of the king.

The year 2 date is derived, as we might have expected, from the Tombos inscription. The fact that the campaign ended in year three, some 8 months after the Tombos date, is based on two inscriptions found at Sehel and Assuan, erected by the same viceroy Thure mentioned in the coronation inscription, and dated the 22nd day of the ninth month of the

3rd year of the king. Apparently on the return from the Nubian campaign the king found the canal, which by-passed the cataract, stopped up, and set about to clear it, leaving record of his achievement.[187] The Syrian campaign must have begun later in the third year or into the fourth.

The conflict is transparent. In the tradition provided by his generals, Thutmose conquered Nubia at an unspecified date and followed that up with a Syrian campaign in which battles were fought. The order of events is unmistakable. First Nubia, then Syria. It is also worth noting that on his return from the Nubian campaign, there is no mention of any obstruction at the first cataract, only smooth sailing into Thebes. And we should not overlook the fact that the Syrian victories were inconsequential. Ahmose, at the head of the army, boasts of capturing a single prisoner. For the record we cite a brief passage from the annals of Ahmose Pen-Neekhbet.

> His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther; his majesty cast his first lance, which remained in the body of that fallen one. This was ---- — powerless before his flaming uraeus, made [so] in an instant of destruction; their people were brought off as living prisoners. His majesty sailed down-river, with all countries in his grasp, that wretched Nubian Troglodyte being hanged head downward at the [prow] of the ba[rge] of his majesty, and landed at Karnak.
> After these things one journeyed to Retenu (*Rtnw*) to wash his heart among the foreign countries. His majesty arrived at Naharin (*N3-h3-ry-n3*). His majesty found that foe when he was [planning destruction; his majesty made a great slaughter among them. Numberless were the living prisoners, which his majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at the head of our troops, and his majesty beheld my bravery. I brought off a chariot, its horses, and him who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to his majesty. One presented me with gold in double measure. BAR 80-81

In the other tradition, that represented by the Tombos and cataract inscriptions of Thure, Thutmose embarked on a Nubian campaign early in his second year and returned the next year, though delayed in the return trip by navigational problems. By the time the Tombos inscription was erected, early in his second year in office, Thutmose was already *master* of Syria. Though Thutmose boasts of sovereignty over Syria, he specifically says that had fought no battles in that region, leading some Egyptologists to suggest that Thutmose received these lands as an

[187] BAR II 75,76.

inheritance from his father Amenhotep I. But no record of Amenhotep's conquest of Syria has ever been found..

How do we explain the two traditions?

The Resolution

The solution to the presence of two incompatible traditions for the military activity of Aakheperkare Thutmose is ready at hand. We assume that the Coronation, Tombos, and cataract inscriptions belong to Pinudjem I. When Herihor died (or was replaced in office by the Assyrian authority) in 661 B.C.[188], Pinudjem assumed both Herihor's rank as High Priest of Amun and his benefice as "commander of the army of all of Egypt" in which he acted on behalf of his Assyrian overlord. He also secretly declared his kingship, following the example of Herihor, publicizing the fact in the coronation inscription.[189] Apparently in his capacity as commander of the army Pinudjem acted in his second year to preserve Assyrian hegemony in Nubia, claiming personal credit for the victories. When he boasts in the Tombos inscription that his domains extend from the Euphrates to southern Nubia, and include the coastal regions of the Mediterranean (called the *Haunebu* elsewhere in the text) he is clearly representing himself, vicariously, as the sovereign of lands actually held by his Assyrian overlord. He did not inherit these lands from his father Amenhotep II, as Egyptologists have suggested. He was the son of Piankh, and he was clearly misrepresenting himself. It is significant that he mentions no warfare in these regions.

The boastful language used by Pinudjem in the Tombos inscription, as also his adoption of the titles of kingship, reflect an understandable

[188]This assumes that Herihor outlived Piankh by at most as few months, though it is possible that the armies controlled by both Herihor and Piankh were called to service elsewhere in defense of the Assyrian Empire, leaving Pinudjem free to assume both the high priesthood and a nominal kingship.

[189]Alternatively, we might assume that he was assigned the kingship in Thebes by the Assyrians. This scenario is the more likely if we agree with Petrie's analysis of the Assyrian annals discussed earlier, and believe that Piankh, the father of Pinudjem, was the appointed ruler in Thebes from the days of Essarhaddon. The fact that both Pinudjem's high priesthood and his kingship began at the death of his father in 661 B.C. (a thesis unique to this revision) argues for the likelihood that both benefices were passed down from father to son.

desire on his part to be free from Assyrian restraint. No doubt throughout his kingship he hoped to free Egypt from its Assyrian domination. But if so, his dreams would await his death and the ascendancy of his son Menkheperre.

Masaharta & theTomb of Merytamun

Tomb of Merytamun

Having set forth the chronology, and discussed the relevant documents related to Pinudjem I, we proceed to examine the inscriptions bearing on the life of his eldest son Masaharta and the early years of his more famous son Menkheperre, concluding with a few brief comments on the enigmatic and problematic Mutemhet Maatkare, Pinudjem's daughter.

The inscriptions which name Masaharta are either bandage epigraphs from DB320 or miscellaneous graffiti. They are largely uninformative. There are only two exceptions, and they have some bearing on our revision, insofar as they illustrate the tomb robbery and name borrowing which, according to our thesis, are characteristic of the 21st Theban dynasty priests. Both inscriptions are found on the re-wrapped mummy of queen Meryetamun, found in her tomb in a cliff face near the Deir el Bahri temple of queen Hatshetsup.

The tomb was discovered in 1929 by H. E. Winlock and clearance was completed by the next year. The results of the excavation were published in 1932 in a volume entitled *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes*. According to this report two mummies were found inside, that of a late 21st dynasty queen Entiu-ny, whose body and funerary equipment had been hastily inserted into the tomb immediately before its final sealing, and that of an 18th dynasty queen Meryetamun, for whom the tomb had been constructed originally. According to Winlock, in the interim between the original burial of Meryetamun and the rude and hasty intrusion of the body of Entiu-ny, the tomb had been robbed and restored, then robbed again and restored again. The final restoration had been carried on by the high priest Masaharta in the 19th year of an unnamed king, whom we identify as Pinudjem 1. According to our

chronology this would be the year 643 B.C.. Winlock's theory of two robberies and two restorations is questionable, since he admits that "there is only the most meager evidence that the earlier robbery ever took place at all."[190]

What caused Winlock to assume two robberies were the large number of intrusive objects in the tomb, presumbly left by the restoration parties clearing up after each robbery. These consisted of large boxes made of fragments of 20th dynasty coffins, many large pots, clearly of late date, which had contained supplies for the restoration(s), and assorted other artifacts, too many apparently to assume a single enterprise (though Winlock agrees that the two restorations took place in relatively quick succession). Apparently the restorations were a large scale operation. In reference to the second restoration Winlock has this to say:

> When a preliminary investigation had fixed the seriousness of the damage done in the tomb, a party of restorers was sent there with full equipment. There was a scribe who was supplied with an official seal, there were embalmers - or bandagers at least - and there must have been workmen, who brought their own food intending to stay until they had thoroughly cleaned up the tomb. The party brought linen to rewrap the mummy, flowers to redecorate it, and offerings to lay at its feet. They brought paint and plaster and strips of glass to refurbish the coffins, and they brought boxes and pots for their materials.[191]

We must correct two misconceptions held by Winlock. In the first place we discount entirely the thesis of two robberies and ensuing restorations. The evidence for the first robbery is slim to none and the evidence can all be explained by a reinterpretation of the actual sequence of events. Besides, we wonder why an earlier restoration would have been necessary since apparently the first group of robbers took next to nothing from the tomb. In describing the second robbery, that which took place during the 19th year of Pinudjem I, Winlock appears to indicate that most if not all of the original treasure in the tomb remained intact.

> To light their way the thieves made lamps of small broken saucers. That they came equipped with tools is clear enough. They chopped, sawed and broke up the sarcophagus and the third coffin because both were so bulky that that was the easiest way to get into them. They seem to have considered that some of the

[190] H.E.Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes* (1932) 37
[191] Ibid, p. 42

> bigger pieces of wood were worth taking, however, for they had sawed through the corner dovetails to separate the planks without breaking them, and all the larger boards were missing. The second coffin was opened without much damage. The lid was wrenched away, but that only broke the edges opposite the tenons. Then it was methodically peeled, inside and out. The sheets of gold were ripped up, nails and all, and the linen backing of the gilded gesso was stripped off the head, the shoulders, and the column of inscription, bringing the inlays with it. The eyebrows and eyelids were pried out. They were glass and therefore remeltable, while the stone eyes themselves were left as worthless. The first coffin was treated in the same way, and while it had no inlays, the vulture head which was probably of solid metal was well worth removing. If there was a mask on the mummy, it was taken away bodily. The bandages were then slit with a knife down the front from crown to toes, and the inner wrappings, hardened with resin, were hacked with an adze as far as the jewelry went. Over the heart scarab and the incision plaque this meant practically to the skin. *As we have seen, the thieves missed nothing*, barring a stray bead or two, a valueless lock-pin from a bracelet, and the the part of the girdle which was stuck in the resin-soaked bandages across the back.
>
> The destruction of the furniture has already been noted. The chopped-up pieces of wood were taken away and doubtless burnt for the recovery of the gold and silver leaf, while boxes were probably serviceable enough to be kept for their own sakes. Of metal objects not a trace was found and even alabaster seems to have had its value, for only broken chips of the ointment jars were left, and three of the canopic jars had entirely disappeared. [192]

Clearly this robbery was the first and last in the tomb of Meyetamun. Winlock has unnecessarily confused the issue by suggesting an earlier intrusion. But also, by not asking the obvious question, he failed to apprehend that the robbery and the restoration were not separate events. Why, we enquire, did the restorers, possibly accompanied by the high priest Masaharta, go to so much trouble to set things right in the tomb. The tomb was difficult to access. A submerged entrance through a small opening, a long low tunnel, a deep pit which had to be bridged, all before entering the bricked up entrance to the burial chamber, presented robbers and restorers alike difficult transit into the tomb. Why did Masaharta and the burial party subject themselves to the dark, dank litter strewn environment for days in order to restore the mummy of Meryetamun, repairing and repainting her coffin by candlelight, rather than simply removing them for restoration in a more comfortable environment. Why transport heavy boxes and supply filled amphorae into the tomb when the contents of the tomb might as easily be moved outside. Why the

[192] Ibid, pp. 40,41

apparent secrecy of the restoration party?

We can only surmise that the robbery and restoration were part of a single enterprise, carried out clandestinely to avoid detection by Assyrian authorities, or to conceal from the Egyptian public the fact that clerical officials were rifling the tombs of their revered ancestors. Winlock admits that the robbery probably took place only days or weeks before the restoration. But the evidence admits the possibility, if it doesn't argue the probability, that the events coincided.

This tomb is the only existing evidence of the thoroughness of the process of tomb robbery carried out by the 21st dynasty priests. The reports of the excavation need to be reexamined by scholars with our reconstruction in mind. But our purpose in documenting the excavation is not solely concerned with proving and illustrating our hypothesis of tomb robbery sanctioned by the Theban priests. Three other observations are relevant to our overall thesis.

We have several times already argued that the Theban priest/kings borrowed their names from the dockets on the mummies of the 18th dynasty kings whose tombs they robbed. That name borrowing process is also in evidence in the case of the Meryetamun tomb, though in this instance it is the name of a queen, not that of a king, that is borrowed. We known that the 19th year inscription of Masaharta is dated at least two years, and possibly as much as six years before his death, at which time Menkheperre assumed the high priesthood. At the time of the robbery Menkheperre would have been an influential priest in the Theban temple, and, if not part of the robbery/restoration party, then certainly privy to details concerning the tomb's contents. It is therefore significant that he later named one of his daughters Meryetamun, to our knowledge the only occurrence of this name within the third intermediate period.[193]

A second comment relates to the thoroughness of the robbery, which included all funerary artifacts, many of which must have borne the name of the deceased. This is as good a time as any to enquire what use might have been made of such unique personal items. No doubt, in the case of the 18th dynasty kings whose tombs were robbed, some of the stolen

[193]Cf. Kitchen, TIP 54 E

trappings of royalty might have been used by their 25th dynasty namesakes as part of their own royal insignia. Others may have been melted down for the material content. But there certainly existed many other items whose value lay primarily in their "antiquity." Probably these were sold for fair value to enterprising entrepreneurs. And therein lies a partial solution to a dilemna we faced earlier. The vast majority of the tomb robberies took place during the reigns of Ramses IX through XI, i.e., through the time of the great disruption (701-671 B.C.), and during the tenure of the early 21st dynasty Theban priests, at least through the end of the Assyrian domination (671-639 B.C.). Scarabs and other items belonging to most of the famous kings of Egypt, perhaps including Mycerinus, would have come on the "antiquities market" of the day, via the robberies of the royal tombs. This was the heyday of the colonization of the Mediterranean by the Phoenicians, the time of the creation of the cemetery at Carthage. In the traditional history the two events cannot possibly be related, since the tomb robberies must be dated three to four hundred years before the Phoenician expansion. But in the revised history they coincide and provide a probable explanation for the presence of so many mementos belonging to ancient Egyptian kings in the graves of Phoenician sailors and on the Phoenician coastline.

Burial of Entiu-ny

Our final comment relates to the burial in Merytamun's tomb of Entiu-ny, the daughter of a 21st dynasty king, apparently several decades after the robbery/restoration in the days of Masaharta. It was clearly carried out in haste and entirely without planning or ceremony. We let Winlock tell the story:

Curiously enough, the tomb of Meryet-Amun could not have been opened in advance of the arrival of Entiu-ny's burial party. It makes an interesting picture of the funeral of a Twenty-first Dynasty princess when we realize that up to the very moment of Entiu-ny's interment no preparations had been made at the tomb for her burial. In fact, so carelessly was the affair conducted that her coffins had never even had their lids fitted on them before they were brought with the mummy to the tomb. *Everything was hurried.* While the mummy and its open coffins were lying around on the ground and the burial party was waiting, the

grave diggers were still digging out the pit. As soon as they had uncovered the top of the entrance blocking, without taking the trouble to dig any deeper they broke through the wall, and bricks and dirt went clattering down onto the pots and baskets just inside. In this way there was opened a sloping hole just big enough for a man to crawl through, and the first of the party slid down. Probably his first act was to throw back onto the surface some of the basket lids and pieces of the third coffin [of Meryetamun] and some of the rags and fragments of pots which were in his way, and which were afterwards found in the pit.

> The coffins were then passed down, regardless of order. The wooden cover for the mummy came first; the body of the outer coffin went next; the lid of the inner coffin followed; the lid of the outer coffin after it; and finally came the inner coffin with the mummy. Meantime, such of the party as were below began to carry the coffins back along the corridors until the first man, with the wooden cover, found himself brought up short on the brink of the protective well. He put the cover down; the bearers of the outer coffin, crowding behind him laid down their burden; the inner coffin lid was dropped beside it; the out lid was propped against the wall at the turn in the corridor; and the inner coffin, containing the mummy with a wig at its head, came to a stop in the first corridor. A collar of flowers seems to have been brought separately and to have been torn in two by some accident. Part of it was dropped on the chest of the mummy as it lay in the coffin, and the rest was dropped in the corridor just behind the coffin. Meantime, those at the entrance were passing down the seven shawabti boxes and the Osiris figure containing the Book of the Dead. When they heard that their companions were held up they piled the shawabti boxes out of the way at the side of the corridor on the rubbish which had just fallen onto the pots standing there. *Everyone was hurried.* The high ends of box 5 broke off and were laid on its own lid. So careless was the handling of the Osiris figure that its head was knocked off against the low ceiling and fell behind the pots, and it was a headless Osiris that was stuck in the nearest basket.[194]

How do we explain such disdainful treatment of the remains of a 21st dynasty princess by her near relatives. Winlock paints the picture of her hurried funeral; he makes no attempt to provide a context. But explanation is necessary. Entui-ny is identified by inscriptions as a king's daughter, and her death clearly postdates the time of Masaharta. She is identified by almost all Egyptologists as the daughter of Pinudjem I, based on time considerations and "the similarity between her mummy, coffins, and burial furniture and those of another daughter of Pinudjem

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[194] *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes,* pp.54,55

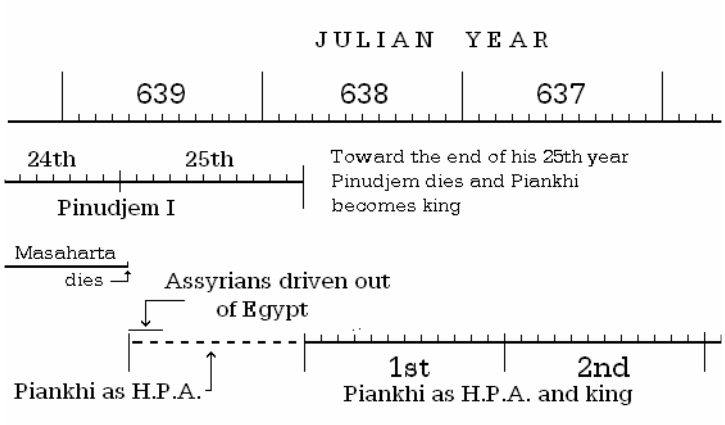
named Henttawy. Even her physical appearance connects her with this family. According to Winlock she was "fully seventy years old when she died", and must therefore have "survived into the reign of one of his [Pinudjem's] successors." But this would place her death in the reign of Menkheperre, who would have been her brother. We cannot imagine why the priest/king Menkheperre would have sanctioned this callous treatment of his sister, particularly if we are correct in identifying him as the enormously powerful and wealthy conqueror of Syria. We must argue instead that Entui-ny was Menkheperre's daughter, born to the youthful priest/king several years after the beginning of his kingship in 638 B.C. If she died in her seventies then her death must be placed in the vicinity of 565 B.C.. She must have outlived her father by almost twenty years. The time-line provides a ready and reasonable explanation for her hurried funeral. She apparently died only weeks before the Babylonian invasion of Egypt. It is inconceivable that an elderly and revered princess would have been so hurriedly and unceremoniously disposed of except in the most dire circumstances, such as we can envisage in the days immediately preceding the invasion by Nebuchadrezzar.

With that we move on to Menkheperre, where the focus of our attention lies.

Menkheperre & The Liberation of Egypt

We have previously argued that Menkheperre, son of Pinudjem I, replaced his brother Masaharta as high priest as late as the 24th or early 25th year of his father Pinudjem I (639 B.C.) and, as commander of the army, immediately set about liberating Egypt from Assyrian domination. This assumes, of course, that the "year 25" on the Maunier Stele, the document which describes this liberation, is referenced to the years of Pinudjem. Clearly Piankhi's father is still alive, but it follows from the fact that Piankhi's reign began the next year (538 B.C.), that his death followed soon after the liberation of the country. In figure 19 below we have diagrammed the likely timeline.

Figure 19: The Pinudjem I/Piankhi Transition
& the Liberation of Egypt.



We expect that the Maunier Stele will shed some light on how Piankhi managed, in a very short period of time, to expel the Assyrians from Egypt. In view of the significance of this action, it is extremely important that we examine the year 25 document.

The Maunier inscription is written on a black granite stele known popularly by the descriptive title "Stele of the Banishment". We should be mindful as we read it that Pinudjem I must still be alive, though all of the activity involves his son Menkheperre. We should also be aware that Pinudjem is known to have based his army during his kingship in the town of el Hibeh in north central Egypt. From that strategic location he exercised control over the Assyrian vassal state on behalf of the Assyrians. We assume that Menkheperre, who inherited the high priesthood from Masaharta only very recently, was also based in that same city. In years to come he would continue to use el Hibeh as a base of operations, a fact at least partially confirmed by the presence of his name (in a cartouche) on multiple bricks used for construction in the city. Menkheperre is now in control of the army, and no doubt possessed with a determination, inherited from his father, to free Egypt from Assyrian domination. It is now thirty years into the reign of Ashurbanipal. Assyrian power is on the wane. Apparently Menkheperre, sensing that the time was right, determined to free Egypt from Assyrian restraint. The death of his brother, and his acquisition of the title of HPA and the associated benefice of "commander of the army", was the signal to act. The *Stela of the Banishment*, thus conceived, describes Menkheperre's

overt break with his Assyrian overlord. We let Breasted describe the contents:

> We find Menkheperre coming from the north, supposedly from Tanis, to Thebes in Paynuzem I's twenty-fifth year, and the remarkable errand which brought him thither is intentionally narrated in such veiled language that it is impossible to determine exactly what its nature was. He came to put down certain unknown enemies, and to restore affairs in Thebes to their ancient status (ll. 6 and 7). This probably indicates a rising of some sort among the Thebans. When this had been quelled Menkheperre appeared before Amon, and with the usual prodigies, customary, at least since the time of Hrihor, he secured an oracle from the god permitting the return to Egypt of all those who had been banished to the Southern Oasis. Furthermore, he also obtained the god's consent to a decree forever forbidding such banishment in the future, and our stela is the permanent record of that decree. The interview with Amon closed with the god's consent that all murderers should be slain. BAR IV 650

Breasted, along with the majority of scholars, is confused by this inscription. He poses a series of intriguing questions?

> The interesting question as to the identity of the banished, who are thus pardoned, is one on which our document is studiously silent. Were they Thebans, on whose behalf the city had risen in insurrection (ll. 6 and 7)? And were they recalled to appease and quiet the turbulent city? And is the last grim enactment of the god a reminder to the violent of what they might expect in case of further insurrection? BAR IV 651

Breasted's problem is understandable. For the traditional historian the actions described in the stela must be dated to the 11th century B.C. and to a time when the only other king in Egypt was Psusennes I. In this context the Theban antagonists against whom Menkheperre acted, and the cause of masses of Egyptians being banished to the oasis, are jointly a complete mystery. The historical context which alone gives meaning to the inscription is missing. With Menkheperre moved to his rightful position in history, near the end of the Assyrian domination of Egypt, we are able easily to answer Breasted's questions.

In the 25th year of Pinudjem, immediately following the death of his brother Masaharta, and only months before his father's death, Menkheperre raised the national army and marched from el Hibeh (not Tanis as Breasted says) toward Thebes, where we assume a few diplomatic representatives, and at most a small garrison of troops loyal to

Ashurbanipal, resided.[195] There he encountered minimal resistance, and was met with a boisterous celebration.

> Year 25, first month[196] of the — [season, day] —. Then spake his majesty to the people: "Amon-Re, lord of Thebes — — — their heart is firm — — — their multitude — — the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Menkheperre, triumphant, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon — — — his — — — — companion of his footsteps, while their hearts rejoiced because he had desired to come to the South in might and victory, in order to make satisfied the heart of the land, and to expel his enemies, that he might give — — — [as] they were in the time of Re. BAR IV 652

Following the expulsion of the Assyrians from Thebes Menkheperre was treated like a king, a fact made clear in the text, though his enthronement would await the death of his father. It is entirely possible that Pinudjem was ill, and that Menkheperre was acting in his stead, much as Nebuchadnezzar led the Babylonian army during the final days of Nabopolassar.

> He arrived at the city (Thebes) with a glad heart; the youth of Thebes received him, making jubilee, with an embassy before him. The majesty of this August god, lord of gods, Amon-Re, [lord of] Thebes, appeared (in procession) — — — that he might [—] him very greatly, very greatly, and **establish him upon the throne of his father**, as High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the armies of the South and North. He (the god) decreed to him many gracious wonders, (such as) had never been seen since the time of Re. BAR IV 653 (emphasis added)

This is clearly not a description of the installation of Menkheperre as high priest, as some believe. It is the sanctioning by the god Amon-Re of the future kingship of the high priest Menkheperre on "the throne of his father". As we have stated previously, king Menkheperre continued for years to hold the office of high priest, though as we will soon see, later in

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[195]The victory over the Assyrians was brief precisely because Piankhi was the commander of the Assyrian army, no doubt one which consisted entirely of foreign conscripts. At most there would be a few troops in Thebes who remained loyal to Assyria. This was a "military coup" in every sense of the word.

[196]This reference to the first month of some season of the year is clearly a misreading of the inscription by Breasted. All of the other dates on the stela reference the third and fourth months of the third season, i.e. the eleventh and twelfth months of the Egyptian year. The advance on Thebes took place in May and June of Pinudjem's 25th year and the celebrations which follow include the New Year celebration in early July.

his reign at least two of his sons inherited the title and took over his duties.

The text goes on to describe Menkheperre's action in recalling multitudes who had been banished to the oasis. Unlike Breasted we know precisely who they are. Several times already we have remarked on the fact that the Assyrians, noted for deporting entire populations of vanquished cities, had exiled king Ramses XI along with multitudes of Egyptians in the year 671 B.C. We noted that they remained in exile into the high priesthood/kingship of Pinudjem I. According to our revised chronology Ramses XI died in exile in 662 B.C., over twenty years before the arrival in Thebes of the liberating army of Menkheperre, but according to the Banishment Stele a large number of Egyptians, perhaps tens of thousands, remained in the oases, apparently prohibited from returning by order of the Assyrian authorities. Now they were freed from their exile. But only after Menkheperre received the sanction of the god Amun.

> Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, recounted to him, saying:
> "O my good lord, (when) there is a matter, shall one recount it —?" Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly. Then he went again to the great god, saying: "O my good lord, (it is) the matter of these servants, against whom thou art wroth, who are in the oasis, whither they are banished." Then the great god nodded exceedingly, while this commander of the army, with his hands uplifted was praising his lord, as a father talks with his own son: "Hail to thee, [maker] of all [that is], creator of all that exists, father of the gods, fashioner of goddesses; who equips them in the cities and districts; begetter of men, and fashioner of women, maker of the life of all men. ... Thou shalt hearken to my voice on this day, and thou shalt [relent] toward the servants whom thou hast banished to the oasis, and they shall be brought (back) to Egypt." The great god nodded exceedingly. BAR IV 655

After eliciting from Amun a decree (or promise) that such an exile should not be allowed to happen again, the stele concludes with an expression of thanksgiving. The high priest Menkheperre, soon to be king in the stead of his father, looks back to his youth and sees in these recent events the fulfillment of his youthful ambition. We can only understand the final comments on the Maunier Stele if we keep in mind the Coronation Inscription of Menkheperre discussed in an earlier chapter. There we

read the story of the youthful Menkheperre receiving the promise of a future kingship from the god Amun, while still a novice priest in the Theban temple. We can now better understand his wonder at being singled out from among his fellows for this honor, since he was not the firstborn of the king, an honor that fell to Masaharta, now deceased. It is extremely significant that in the Banishment Stele Menkheperre acknowledges these early days as a youthful priest, lending support to our thesis that the Menkheperre of the Coronation Inscription and the Menkheperre of the Banishment Stele are one and the same person. We listen for the last time to the words of Menkheperre, son of Pinudjem.

> Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, spake again, saying: "O my good lord, then my [—] is [for] myriads of times, and the command is for father and mother in every family. My every word shall please the heart in [thy] presence, I am thy faithful servant, profitable to thy ka. *I was a youth in thy city, I produced thy provision* and thy [—], while I was in the womb, when thou didst form (me) in the egg, when thou didst bring me forth [to the great joy] of thy people. Grant that I may spend a happy life as a follower of thy ka. There is purity and health wherever thou tarriest. Set my feet in thy way, and direct me on thy path. Incline my heart [— —] to do —. Grant that I may pass a happy [old age] in peace, while I am established, living in thy August house, like every favorite [— —] BAR IV 657. (italics added)

As we have seen, the god answered Piankhi's prayer and granted him 54 years of unprecedented military success, beginning with this 639 B.C. Theban invasion which freed Egypt at long last from Assyrian domination.

There are no inscriptions of the priest/king Menkheperre which inform us concerning actions taken during the next twenty years of his reign. There is a distinct possibility that among the hundreds of inscriptions assigned to the reign of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre there exist some which belong to Piankhi and which, therefore, could be used to illuminate these decades. But the task of sorting out which documents belong to which king lies far beyond the scope of this paper. We leave the task to others.

What we do know is that by year 21, the date of the great Piankhi stele, Menkheperre is resident in Napata, and must therefore have succeeded the line of Melukkhan kings to whom he was related. Perhaps a marriage alliance or perhaps military conquest led to this state of affairs. There is

no suggestion in the year 21 stele that Napata is his permanent residence, only that he was there when news broke concerning the Tefnakht rebellion. The matter will be discussed further in connection with the god's wife Maatkare, Piankhi's sister. But this discussion is relegated to our Appendix D.

We also know from the Annals that by year 21 Menkheperre claims to have lost control of the Syrian provinces once claimed by his father (under the name Aakheperkare Thutmose). Since Pinudjem's claim to these lands was in part a fiction (they actually belonged to Assyria and Pinudjem was merely the commander of the Egyptian army serving Assyrian interests) this is not surprising. When Assyria lost possession of Egypt, no doubt it forfeited also its control over Syria. Apparently the sequence of campaigns that began in the 23rd year of Menkheperre was Piankhi's long delayed attempt to regain the lands once claimed by his father.

Pending further evidence, we must leave the matter there.

The Sons & Grandson of Menkheperre

Tentative Timetable

In our table 14 on page 204, when we made our final transposition of the 21st Theban dynasty, we omitted from consideration the priesthoods/kingships of Menkheperre's sons and grandson Smendes II, Pinudjem II and Psusennes III. The reason was stated briefly in a footnote[197], though it must otherwise be readily apparent to the reader of our revised history. There is no room in this chronology for their inclusion. Menkheperre/Piankhi died around 583 B.C. and was buried in the Barkal cemetery in Napata in Nubia. Long before his death, possibly around 596 B.C., we believe that he was succeeded as the dominant king within Egypt by his relative Shabaka, who died eleven years later, around 585 B.C.[198] Shabaka was in turn succeeded by Shabataka and in 570

[197]Page 204, note 129

[198]The date 600 B.C. for the beginning of Shabaka's elevation from regional king to dominant king in Egypt was selected somewhat arbitrarily in the first book of our series, based primarily on the numbers provided by Manetho for the reign lengths of the 25th dynasty kings. At the time we had

B.C. briefly by Taharka. In 565 B.C., eighteen years after the death of Piankhi, Nebuchadnezzar invaded and decimated Egypt. The offspring of Piankhi did not survive the attack. There is insufficient room in this timeline to position the sons of Piankhi named Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II) and Pinudjem II, much less Psebkhannu (Psusennes III), the son of Pinudjem II, at least not with the "reign lengths" postulated by the traditional history. The textbooks assign to these three clerics a combined "reign length" of upwards of 45 years and position them successively following the death of Menkheperre (Piankhi).

Only one possibility exists for these individuals in the revised history. The tenure of one or more of them must have taken place *during* the lengthy kingship of Menkheperre, extending beyond his death for an additional 18 years. There is no conflict here with our claim that the 25th dynasty kings Shabaka through Taharka also ruled during this same interval. The descendants of Piankhi were primarily clerics, functioning in a sacerdotal capacity in the Theban area. Egypt was governed throughout this period by multiple nomarchs, just as it was earlier, at the time of the Tefnakht rebellion. Shabaka and his descendants likely ruled in the Memphis area as the first among equals. Shabataka and Taharka also ruled over the Napatan area of Nubia.

Among the contemporaries of the 25th dynasty kings, and of the sons and grandson of Piankhi, were two high priests of Amon in Tanis named Amenemopet and Siamon. Multiple docket inscriptions and bandage epigraphs from DB320, as well as from the "second find" at Deir el Bahri, cite these two kings as contemporaries of the three named descendants of Menkheperre? The presence of these two northern clerics is not unexpected. Psusennes II, the last of the 21st dynasty Tanite kings, died *at the latest* in 625 B.C. It follows that for most of the reign of Menkheperre, and for the duration of the 18 years which followed, *there*

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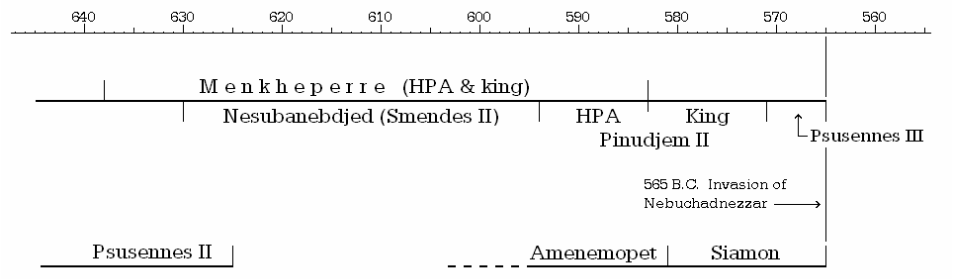
no other concrete data to guide our deliberations. That situation has now changed, based on our discovery that Piankhi was the author of the Karnak Annals bearing the name Menkheperre Thutmose. In chapter six of the present book we discovered the fact that the last campaign of this Menkheperre Thutmose, alias Piankhi, took place during his 42nd year. This would be 597 B.C. based on the assumption that 638 B.C. was Piankhi's first year as king. We assume therefore that Piankhi "retired" to Napata around that date, and left Shabaka to govern Egypt. Henceforth we should assign the years 597-585 B.C. to Shabaka's reign as the first 25th dynasty king of Egypt. This shorter reign length is more in keeping with Manetho's data which assign to him either 8 years (Africanus) or 12 years (Eusebius).

were no named Tanite kings listed in our earlier tables. But the temple ritual in Tanis was certainly not in abeyance during these years. Psusennes must have been followed by other high priests, perhaps from another family. We have no idea why Manetho stopped his listing of 21st dynasty Tanite kings with Psusennes II.

The history of these "terminal" 21st Theban priest/kings and their Tanite counterparts needs to be rewritten. That task clearly lies beyond the scope of this book. For the record however, and to satisfy the curiosity of our more informed readers, we have included below a timeline which describes one possible arrangement of the late Tanite and Theban priest/kings. We have included in our Appendix C a brief discussion of the documents which led us to these conclusions.

Figure 20: Terminal "21st dynasty" Theban priest/kings and their Tanite counterparts.



Hypothetical End of the 25th Dynasty

We have completed our task. Piankhi, along with his parents, grandparents and children, have been identified and assigned their rightful place in history. If the reader still wonders about Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka he should read the first book of this series where some of

their activities are described. As we suggested in the last chapter, they belong to a different branch of the family, as we might have suspected considering that Manetho refers to them as a group unto themselves.[199] We have already positioned Shabaka in the scheme of things, suggesting that for decades following Piankhi's liberation of Egypt, he functioned as a regional king in Memphis, and at some point in time adopted the name Menkheperure Thutmose.[200] In the earlier book we placed his death in the year 585 B.C. As part of Piankhi's extended family he likely played a major part in the Syrian campaigns described in our chapters two through five.

The dates we have assigned to Shabaka reflect our belief that Piankhi outlived him by a few years. Apparently Shabaka also shared Piankhi's liking for the land of his ancestors. His tomb was found at el Kurru, near Napata, but he clearly did not live there. Absolutely no artifacts belonging to him have been found at the sight of Piankhi's Barkal temple, nor elsewhere in Nubia.

Shabataka must have become king in Memphis at the death of Shabaka in 585 B.C. Two years later, when Piankhi died, he may also have become king in Napata, leaving his brother Taharka to govern in his absence.[201] He adopted the prenomen Menkheperre, patterned after his father's

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[199]The critic may enquire why the line of priest/kings from Herihor through Pinudjem II was not included in Manetho's list. It is a legitimate question, and one to which we have no ready answer, save to argue that to the priest/historian Manetho they appeared to be more high priests and army commanders than kings. Perhaps they were discussed elsewhere in his history, now lost to us. We have already argued many times that these 21st Theban priest/kings appear to have considered themselves, first and foremost, to be priests. We are not surprised that Manetho did not include them among the dynasties of "kings". If that explanation is deemed insufficient, the critic should ask the traditionalist historians the same question. He/she will get the same answer.

[200]Though we have argued that a king by this name participated in the Syrian campaign of Piankhi the documents that suggest this need to be more closely examined to see if they actually do belong to the 7th century. We need to be constantly mindful that the names on Egyptian monuments were often altered, and sometimes multiple times. Nor is it necessary to argue that this king was Shabaka. Only one set of inscriptions argued that connection. It is also not necessary to assume that Shabaka, or a contemporary who used the name, adopted the full titlulary of this king.

[201]We have no idea why Piankhi's son Pinudjem II did not inherit the Napatan throne when Piankhi died, nor why it passed to Shabaka's branch of the family. We can only suggest that in Napata, Piankhi himself may have been an "outsider", an interloper, and that Shabaka and family actually had more of a claim to the Nubian throne. It is perhaps relevant to remind the reader in this context that while Piankhi himself was buried in the Barkal cemetery, his father Pinudjem I and his son Pinudjem II were buried in DB320, and dozens of Piankhi's near relatives were buried in the "second find" at Deir el Bahri. The Theban area was clearly their home.

adopted name (Menkheperure) and a duplicate of his grandfather's. Sometime late in his reign, perhaps around 572 B.C., the Nubian army under Taharka was summoned to Egypt by Shabataka to assist in defending the delta, understandable since in the years 585-573 Nebuchadrezzar and his army had conducted a prolonged siege of Tyre.[202] Egypt was clearly the next target for Nebuchadnezzar. The threat to Egypt was real. Fortunately for the Egyptians, the Babylonian king fell ill, and his illness lasted for seven years. Egypt was reprieved.

In 570 B.C. Shabataka died and was replaced by Taharka, both as the Memphite king of Egypt and king in Napata. In Thebes Pinudjem died and was replaced by his son Psebkhannu (Psusennes III), whose reign paralleled that of Taharka. In Tanis Siamon lived out the final years of his reign. In spite of the reprieve from the Babylonian threat, there was forboding in Egypt. Taharka went on the offensive, taking the Egyptian army on a whirlwind tour of conquest ranging as far east as the former Assyrian capital at Nineveh. In Egypt Psusennes continued the task begun by his father Pinudjem, that of collecting and reburying dozens of bodies stashed throughout the Valley of the Kings, the results of a century of tomb robbery conducted by the Amun priesthood.

In due time Nebuchadnezzar recovered and took retribution. Egypt fell to the Babylonian horde. The resulting annihilation of the population had at least one fortuitous result. The slaughter and deportation of the masses also silenced the few witnesses to the mass burial of the Theban kings and priestly family members in the vicinity of Deir el Bahri. In Tanis all knowledge of the location of the tombs of Osorkon II and Psusennes II was lost. Documents buried by the priests to preserve them from the impending destruction remained hidden for two and a half millenia. Much of the knowledge we have used to rewrite the history of those eventful times was thankfully preserved.

And with that we conclude our discussion.

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[202]See *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, chapter 1.

Appendix A

One of the few reasonable objections that can be raised to our proposed displacement of the Saite dynasty has already been dealt with. We refer to the supposed occurrence of the name Shabataka in an inscription of Sargon II discovered at Tang-I-Var and dated by the Assyriologist Grant Frame to 706 B.C.?. Critics of the current revision will be quick to point out that this date is reasonably close to the traditional dates for the 25th dynasty king who bears this name. That fact alone is sufficient to convince those who are already predisposed to maintain the status quo, of the reasonableness of their position. For the record, however, we present in greater detail our opinion of this inscription and the frailty of the conclusions based upon it.

The Tang-i Var Discovery

"One of the most important results of a series of surveys carried out by the Archaeological Service of Iran in 1968 was the discovery in Iranian Kurdistan of a neo-Assyrian relief with a cuneiform inscription. The relief is carved into a niche on the flanks of the Kuh-i Zinaneh in the Tang-i Var pass near the village of Tang-i Var". "Cut into the face of a vertical cliff at a point 40 m. above ground level" the relief is both difficult to access and badly preserved. Photographs and casts of the relief were made by the Iranian authorities and the find was announced and discussed by 'Ali Akbar Sarfaraz in a 1968-69 article in the journal *Iran*. Several photographs and some sketches were included in the journal article. "Regrettably, the inscription is badly worn and is basically illegible from the published photographs and copy." The Iranian authorities did not recognize its significance.

The inscription attracted very little attention in the western world. The journal article, written in Farsi, was largely ignored, though a few Assyrian specialists made note of its existence, and at least in one instance additional photographs were sought (see below). The fact that "it might be attributed to Tiglath-pilesar III or Sargon II was first suggested by Julian Reade in an article published in 1977", based on the legible portions of the text in photographs accessible to him.

The situation changed dramatically only a few years ago. We quote Grant Frame, the Assyriologist responsible for the recent developments:

> While carrying on work on the inscriptions of Sargon II for a volume of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project, I noted the possibility that the inscription at Tang-i Var would need to go in that volume. Having been informed by Dr. I. D. Levine that Dr. Francois Vallat had taken photographs of the relief in the early 1970s, I wrote to Dr. Vallat about the matter. With great

> generosity, Dr. Vallat has allowed me to make use of all the photographic material that was in his possession (22 slides) and the edition presented below is based solely on this material. Dr. Vallat has informed me that he went to Tang-i Var in 1971 on behalf of the Susa mission and at the request of R. Labat. Dr. Vallat described the current state of the inscription and the difficulty he had in photographing it while dangling from a rope.[461]

The photographs obtained from Dr. Vallat were of sufficient quality to permit Dr. Frame to transcribe, then transliterate and translate the Tang-i Var inscription. The results of his efforts, and the revelation that the inscription contained a reference to the 25th dynasty king Shabataka, were announced to the scholarly world in 1999 at a March 20th session of the 209th meeting of the American Oriental Society (with the innocuous title "The Rock Relief at Tang-i Var") , and later that year in the journal *Orientalia* in an article entitled "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var". The latter article is the source of all the information quoted above.

It is important to note that the photographs obtained by Dr. Vallat, those on which Frame depends for his transcription, are of poor quality. The reflection of the sunlight, the shadows created by the impressions of the cuneiform signs and by the sides of the niche into which the inscription was placed, and the deterioration of the rock itself, combine to obscure much of the text. Caution suggested to Dr. Frame that he should perhaps wait to obtain confirmation of his tentative transcription. Scholarly considerations encouraged an immediate publication. He describes his dilemma in the article:

> Because of the damaged nature of the inscription and the fact that some sections are inevitably better represented by the photographic materials than others, some parts of the text cannot be read and the reading of others is tentative. Nevertheless, it is possible to read a large portion of the inscription and to be certain that the ruler responsible for it was the Assyrian king Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). In view of the importance of the inscription and the length of time which it has lain unpublished it seems best to present this preliminary edition as it is, rather than wait until further photographs and/or casts should become available or until someone is able to collate the inscription in situ. Since any copy of the text made by me would be based solely upon the available photographic materials, I have decided to provide here the most useful photographs of the inscription (Figs. 3-18) rather than a copy of the text. (p. 34-5)

The Tang-i Var inscription was clearly the production of the Assyrian king Sargon II. It is, in fact, a summary of the major military accomplishments of his reign, the latest of which occurred in the last years of his life, perhaps as late as the year 707 B.C. Duplicate versions of many of the same events can be found on inscriptions in this king's palace at

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[461] Orientalia 68 (1999) 34

Khorsabad (Dûr Sharrukîn). The relevant section of Frame's translation, that which refers to the Iamani incident which provides the context for the inclusion of Shabataka's name, is contained in lines 19 to 21 of the inscription.

> 19 I plundered the city of Ashdod. Iamani, its king, feared [my weapons] and ... He fled to the region of the land of Meluhha and lived (there) stealthfully (literally: like a thief). 20 Šapataku' (Shebitku), king of the land of Meluhha, heard of the mig[ht] of the gods Aššur, Nabu, (and) Marduk which I had [demonstrated] over all lands ... 21 He put (Iamani) in manacles and handcuffs ... he had him brought captive into my presence.

Before proceeding we note one anomaly in Frame's translation, one to which we will return briefly in the final section of our discussion. Line 20 concludes with an indication (...) that words at the end of the line may be obscured in the cuneiform text. Line 19 does not. In fact, the sense of the translation assumes that no text intervenes between the flight of Iamani described in line 19 and the reaction of Shabataka in line 20. But in fact the end of every line in the Tang-i Var inscription is obscured by shadow, a fact indicated by the repetition of the symbol [(...)] at the conclusion of every line in the transliterated text that precedes the translation in the *Orientalia* article. As Frame notes at the beginning of his commentary, "Due to shadow on the photographs, it is not always clear how much, if anything at all, is missing at the right end of the lines. While [(...)] has regularly been put at the end of lines in the transliteration, the translation has generally ignored this." (p. 41). Clearly in line 19 Frame has decided that nothing is missing.

The Iamani incident referred to in lines 19-21 is known from three other inscriptions on the walls of Sargon's palace, and from a stela found elsewhere. It is important to review the details of the event insofar as they are known. We quote from an article by the Egyptologist D.B. Redford in an 1985 article in the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*.

> Thanks to a variety of studies over the last 25 years, the year 712 B.C. has emerged as an anchor date in the history of the Late Period in Egypt. The general course of events leading up to and culminating in the Assyrian campaign against Ashdod in that year is now fairly sure, and may be sketched as follows. Sometime early in 713 B.C. the Assyrians deposed Aziri, king of Ashdod on suspicion of *lese-majeste*, and appointed one Ahimetti to replace him. Very shortly thereafter, however, and probably still in 713, a spontaneous uprising of the Ashdod populace removed this Assyrian puppet in favor of a usurper Yamani. Throughout the fall and winter of 713 Yamani contacted the other Philistine cities and the inland states of Judah, Moab, and Edom in an effort to organize an anti-Assyrian coalition, and sent to "Pharaoh (Pir'u) king of Egypt" for aid. In the spring of 712, however, Sargon dispatched the tartan with a detachment of troops against Ashdod, and Yamani fled in haste to Egypt. Unable to find a safe haven in Egypt, Yamani passed clean through the land

> *ana ite Musri sa pat Meluhha*, "to the frontier of Egypt which is (contiguous) to the territory of Kush." At this point he fell into the hands of the king of Kush who, at an unspecified later date, extradited him to Assyria. (pp.6-7)

The point being made by Redford in this article is that the king of Egypt (Pir'u, king of Musri) mentioned in the Assyrian annals must be the last king of Manetho's 24th dynasty (Bocchoris). He is clearly distinguished from the king of Melukkha., who must therefore be Shabaka, the king in waiting. [For the contrary opinion held by K.A. Kitchen and others, see below] It follows from these considerations that Shabaka has not yet conquered Egypt. Largely on this basis Redford, and many others, argue that Shabaka's conquest of Egypt must have taken place in 712 B.C. at the earliest. The chronology is very tight.

> If the Assyrians attacked at the earliest possible time of the year (Nisan) in 712, and if Yamani took to flight immediately, he would scarcely have reached Kush in less than 5 or 6 weeks, which would put his arrival there no earlier than the middle of June. We would be safe in assuming, however, that by the end of the summer he had attained the frontier of Kush. By using an unusual locution, the Assyrian scribe explicitly conveys an important fact which he is aware of, viz. that Yamani's flight took him all the way to the border between Egypt and Kush at Elephantine, and that only then did he enter territory belonging to the Kushite king. In other words, the campaign of Shabaka which finally won Egypt for the 25th Dynasty and terminated the regime and life of Bocchoris, had not yet taken place by the late summer of 712 B.C. (p. 8)

Redford goes on to conclude that the invasion of Egypt by Shabaka most likely occurred late in 712 B.C., and, since dated monuments of this king attest a reign of at minimum 15 years, he derives the dates 712-698 B.C. for this king. Based on other consideration, not discussed in his 1985 article, Redford dated the reign of Shabataka, Shabaka's successor, to the years 699-690 B.C., assuming a brief "corregency" between Shabaka and Shabataka. For Redford, as for all Egyptologists, the 690-664 B.C. reign of Taharka, the ultimate king of the dynasty, is accepted as axiomatic.

Frame recognized from the outset that the Tang-i Var inscription provides "an important piece of new information with regard to the episode of Iamani of Ashdod, a piece of information which will require Egyptologists to revise their current absolute chronology for Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty." By "new information" he refers to the newly revealed identity of the king of Melukkha who captured Iamani and surrendered the fugitive king to Sargon. Without exception, all Egyptologists prior to the Tang-i Var discovery had identified this king as Shabaka. For Redford, the identification was pivotal. Before we read Frame's opinion on the import of the new discovery we should understand clearly the two schools of thought which preceded the Tang-i Var discovery.

One group of scholars, of which Redford is a major proponent, understand from the Assyrian texts that in 712 B.C. Egypt was ruled by a single pharaoh, referred to as "Pir'u

king of Musri", who must be distinguished from the king of Melukkha referred to in the same texts. As we have already stated, only one possible scenario presents itself once this political bifurcation is assumed. Bocchoris must be the king of Egypt; Shabaka must be the king of Melukkha, soon to invade and conquer the country and begin the 25th dynasty.

The other group of scholars, represented most notably by K.A. Kitchen, believe that "Pir'u, king of Musri" and the "king of Melukkha" are one and the same king. They date the reign of Shabaka on other bases, and interpret the Assyrian references in ways that will support their independently established chronology. Kitchen, for example, places Shabaka in the time frame 716-702 B.C., overlapping the Iamani incident. This compels him to equate the kings of Musri and Melukha. (TIP 341) That equation does not derive naturally from a reading of the Assyrian texts.

The revelation that the king of Melukkha in the Iamani incident is Shabataka, not Shabaka, requires a dramatic reconstruction for both of these groups. In order to better understand the implications of the discovery we reproduce below the four possible chronologies which might explain the new data. The four groups represent the only three possible identifications of "Pir'u, king of Musri" who ruled Egypt at the time of the Ashdod rebellion in 713 B.C.

Table 19: Chronology assuming Pir'u is not Shabaka (Redford Group)

.Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	King of 24th or prior Dynasty	Shabaka
712 or soon thereafter	Shabaka invasion	Shabaka
706 or x years earlier	Shabaka	Shabataka replaces Shabaka (Iamani incident soon after)

Table 20: Chronology assuming Pir'u is Shabaka (Kitchen Group)

Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	Shabaka (y years after conquest of Egypt	Shabaka
706 or x years earlier	Shabaka	Shabataka replaces Shabaka (Iamani incident soon after)

Table 21: Alternate Chronology assuming Pir'u is Shabaka

Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	Shabaka (y years after conquest of Egypt	Shabaka
intermediate year	Shabaka dies. Shabataka replaces Shabaka	Shabataka
706 or x years earlier	Shabataka	Shabataka (Iamani incident)

Table 22: Chronology assuming Pir'u is Shabataka

Date	Egyptian Pharaoh	King of Melukkha
713 B.C.	Shabataka	Shabataka
706 or x years earlier	Shabataka	Shabataka (Iamani incident)

We will discuss aspects of these four chronologies later. It is time to hear Frame's impression of the newly discovered text:

> Neither the Display Inscription nor the Display Inscription of 'Room XIV mentions the name of the ruler of Melukkha who sent the fugitive Iamani to Sargon for punishment and it has generally been assumed that the ruler in question was Shabaka (or Shabako), a ruler of Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty". This dynasty, also known as the Kushite or Napatan dynasty, came from Nubia, which was referred to by the ancient place name "Melukkha" in Neo-Assyrian texts. Shabaka's reign has been dated to 716-702 B.C. by most recent scholars, although the possibility that he reigned 714-700, with the last two years of his reign being a corregency with his successor has also been raised". Shabaka was succeeded by his nephew Shebitku (or Shabataka), the son of Shabaka' s predecessor, Piankhi. Most scholars have assumed that Shebitku's reign should be dated to 702-690 B.C., thus assuming that he ascended the throne during the reign of Sennacherib". Line 20 of the Tang-i Var inscription, however, states that the ruler who extradited Iamani during the reign of Sargon was Shebitku (^{m}ša pa ta ku $^{\lceil}$u$^{\rfloor}$). This would thus raise difficulties for the current Egyptian chronology. The Tang-i Var inscription almost certainly dates to the year 706 (see above) and must have been composed before Sargon's death in 705. The other two inscriptions of Sargon referring to the forced return of Iamani also date from late in Sargon's reign. Both the Display Inscription and the Display Inscription of Room XIV record matter involved with the completion of the new capital of Dur-Sarrukin and, as already mentioned, that city was inaugurated on the sixth day of the second month of 706. Thus, the Tang-i Var inscription would indicate that Shebitku was already ruler by 706, at least four years earlier than has generally been thought. We still do not know exactly when Iamani was delivered up to Sargon. Sargon's capture of Ashdod is recorded in the king's annals for his eleventh regnal year, but no mention is made of either Iamani's flight or extradition. It is not impossible that although Shebitku was ruler at the time the Tang-i Var inscription was composed, Iamani had actually been returned in the time of the previous ruler, Shabaka. The Assyrian scribe of the inscription could conceivably have credited the action to the current ruler of Egypt rather than the preceding one. Nevertheless, it seems likely that sometime between about 712 and 706 Iamani was delivered up to Sargon and that the Kushite ruler of Egypt at that time was Shebitku: certainly Shebitku seems to have been ruler by 706. (pp. 53-4)

We immediately notice two things in Frame's discussion of the Shabataka reference. In the first place he doesn't mention the Redford chronology, though perhaps deliberately, since, as we shall see, Redford provides an accompanying article to explain his point of view. We are more surprised to see Frame describing the Iamani incident as if it might have taken place in 706 B.C.? What is happening? The answer is transparent. He is reinterpreting the history of the Iamani incident in such a way as to marginalize the

problem. All interpreters do the same. The response was predictable. But we should read his comments carefully on that account. We would miss the point of Frame's discussion if we think that the only problem that results from the Tang-i Var text is the necessity of dating the beginning of Shabataka's reign four years earlier than is typically done. What is the gist of Frame's argument?

There exist only two possible interpretations of the Iamani incident in light of the revelations of the Tang-i Var inscription, read in conjunction with the parallel texts. Frame discusses them both. Either Shabataka was the Melukkhan king who captured and extradited Iamani, or he was not.[462] If Shabataka was the Melukkhan king, then the most pressing question is the date of the Iamani incident. There is really only one possibility - 712 B.C. But the earlier the date, the greater the problem for Egyptologists and traditional historians. Thus the balance of Frame's discussion argues the possibility that the Iamani incident took place later than 712 B.C. Frame spends most of his time demonstrating that the Tang-I Var relief was inscribed around 706 B.C., thus establishing the latest possible date for the capture and return of Iamani. This is all fine and good, as long as we do not confuse "lowest possible date" and "lowest probable date". There are good reasons for maintaining the 712 B.C. date. We cite the two most obvious.

1. A straightforward reading of the Assyrian texts tells us that the Iamani incident took place in 712 B.C. All the discussion in the world does not change that fact. All interpreters of the Assyrian texts for well over a century, scholars from all persuasions, have concluded that Iamani was captured soon after his flight to freedom. Even Redford assumed that as a fact when, in his article quoted above, he stated that "at this point he (Iamani) fell into the hands of the king of Kush who, at an unspecified *later date*, extradited him to Assyria." But it matters not at all if Iamani was captured in 712 B.C. and returned to Sargon as much as six years later. The parallel texts state that the king of Melukkha who captured Iamani also acted to return him to the Assyrian king. And the Tang-i Var inscription attributes both actions to Shabataka. If we assume a period of years between the capture and return of Iamani, that merely forces us to move the beginning of Shabataka's reign back an identical number of years. We will assume, in the discussion that follows (and in the tables above), that extradition followed capture immediately.

2. The fact that the palace inscriptions and the Tang-i Var text were inscribed in the year 706 B.C. all but demands that the incidents referred to, including the activities of Shabataka, took place at a much earlier date. Those annals look back as far as the beginning of Sargon's reign. The *latest* datable incident took place in 707 B.C., but most are much earlier. And why, we ask, would the annalist not indicate a separation in time

[462] There is no point our discussing error in this essay, though I suspect the possibility will be raised more and more as Egyptologists scramble to escape the dilemma caused by the presence of Shabataka's name. If an error is to be conjectured why not simply assume that the annalist spelled the name of Shabaka wrong? If so we can end our discussion here.

if one took place. All versions of the Iamani incident which document the flight of Iamani in 712 B.C. go on immediately to recount his capture and extradition and then proceed to relate other accomplishments of Sargon. There is no hint that the return of Iamani was the last event in Sargon's illustrious career, an addendum added to his annals at the last moment. Unless we assume that the Shabataka news was "hot off the press" and that the return of Iamani took place as the inscriptions were in progress, only to be inserted into the text of an incomplete story, then we must date the return of Iamani much earlier than 706 B.C. How much earlier is the only question?

But determining the date of the Iamani capture is not the only problem that manifests itself when we examine the chronological possibilities. In two of the four suggested chronologies (tables 19 and 20) we have the untenable circumstance of Shabaka ruling Egypt while Shabataka is ruling Melukkha. This scenario makes absolutely no sense. There are a host of objections. While the possibility of a corregency between the two pharaohs has often been proposed, no scholar has ever suggested that Shabaka yielded sovereignty of Melukkha to his nephew shortly after he conquered Egypt. And why would Shabataka, ruling over a country far removed from the influence of the Assyrians, feel any need to kowtow to Sargon, when Egypt, ruled by his uncle, served a protective buffer shielding him from any possible harm. Why also would Shabaka allow his nephew to take this action, something which he himself had refused to do for a number of years? A final problem centers around the status of Melukkha as a national entity. Sargon speaks of Melukkha as if it were a separate country, not a province of the Egyptian Empire. Shabataka's action in capturing and extraditing Iamani is that of a sovereign king of a sovereign nation. This cannot be a "corregency" under any circumstance.

Any explanation proposed for the Tang-i Var inscription which assumes that Shabaka is ruling in Egypt with Shabataka as co-ruler in the extreme south, bearing the title king of Melukkha, must, in our estimation, be set aside. The text of the palace Display Inscription clearly portrays the king of Melukkha as a sovereign in his own right ruling in the remote regions bordering on the south of Egypt, not the nephew of the king of Egypt, sharing his throne. Listen to the annalist!

> The king of Melukkha who [lives] in [a distant country], in an inapproachable region, the road [to which is ...], whose fathers never - from remote days until now" - had sent messengers to inquire after the health of my royal forefathers, he did hear, even (that) far away, of the might of Ashur, Nebo (and) Marduk. The awe-inspiring glamour of my kingship blinded him and terror overcame him. He threw him (i.e. Iamani) in fetters, shackles and iron hands, and they brought him to Assyria, a long journey. ANET 286

Under no circumstances can the king of Melukkha and the king of Egypt be considered as close relatives. The suggested chronologies in tables 19 and 20 must be rejected outright. The two remaining viable alternatives (tables 21 & 22) assume that either Shabaka or Shabataka ruled the whole of Egypt and Melukkha in 713 B.C. And since we

argue that the Iamani incident took place in or near 712 B.C., there is little to choose between the two possibilities.

Both these remaining options are fraught with difficulties. Both require assigning Shabataka a reign length of upwards of 22 years. And both depend on the identity of the Pir'u of Musri and the king of Melukkha in the Assyrian annals, a contentious issue discussed earlier in this essay. Redford justifiably argues for a distinction between the two kings. That is what the Assyrian texts seem to describe. We agree with him. But if so then these two remaining chronologies must also be rejected. We are faced with a classic case of "damned if you do" but "damned if you don't". We cannot tolerate a distinction between the two kings; neither can we justify equating them.

It should follow from the argument thus far that none of the proposed chronologies adequately explains the data in the Assyrian annals. The only legitimate response is to question the viability of the traditional history which creates the problem.

Frame is clearly uncomfortable with the implications of the inscription (why else would he mention the possibility of error) and in the Orientalia article he turns the discussion over to his colleague, none other than the same D.B. Redford quoted many times already, whose history is most severely challenged by the newly discovered text.

> My colleague at the University of Toronto, Prof. Donald B. Redford has kindly prepared a brief study of the implications this passage in the Tang-i Var inscription has for Egyptian chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and it is presented immediately following this article. (p. 54)

Redford's Orientalia article is brief, as its title indicates.[463]. As he had done in 1985, Redford continues to maintain the centrality of the year 712, though he does make some concessions. Shabaka's invasion of Egypt, he argues, need not have taken place in 712 B.C., but it must postdate the year 713 B.C.. His revised chronology is essentially that represented by our table 19. He begins by espousing the 706 B.C. minimum date for the beginning of Shabataka's reign, as if that were established as the probable date by Frame. To make matters worse he actually reduces the date to 706-705 B.C., with a hint that even the year 705 B.C. is possible, as if Iamani could be captured, transported two thousand miles to the Khorsabad palace, while news of the event was transmitted to Tang-i Var , there to be added to the rock relief, all this in the last days of Sargon's life.

> "The death of Sargon II is now the *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of Shebitku with a title indicating the status of a head of state. Since the stela most probably was inscribed in Sargon's final year, the extradition of Yamani could have taken place as late as 706-705 B.C.". (p. 58)

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[463] D.B. Redford, "A Note on the Chronology of Dynasty 25 and the Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var", Orientalia 68 (1999) 58-60

To be fair Redford does express a reservation. He acknowledges that the extradition of Yamani "*could have taken place* as late as 706-705 B.C.". But the initial caution is soon set aside and Redford proceeds on the assumption that this latest possible date for the beginning of Shabataka's reign is in fact the correct date. He seems preoccupied with determining the *chronological* consequences of Shabataka ruling alongside Shabaka in 705 B.C., rather than explaining the problematic character of this assumed corregency. For the record we quote from his Orientalia article:

> If Shabaka maintained the same sequence of regnal years from his accession, presumably on the death of Pi(ankh)y, and did not associate Shebitku with him as coregent, then the new evidence would oblige us to place his accession no later than 720 B.C., and possibly higher according as his reign exceeded 15 years. His conquest of Egypt, clearly accomplished by his year 2, and the consequent termination of the 24th Dynasty, could have fallen no later that 719 B.C. But this presents a major difficulty. For the decade preceding 713/12 B.C. the Assyrian and Biblical records contain several allusions to Egyptian rulers, but none of them can be interpreted as an allusion to a Kushite king ruling over Egypt. The individuals referred to must, in fact, be the ephemeral or otherwise unidentified rulers belonging to pre-25th Dynasty regimes. The implication, then, is that as late as 713 B.C. when Yamani sought aid from Pir'u, Shabaka's invasion had not yet taken place. It follows that Shabaka year 1 must fall in or after 713 B.C., and his 15th in or after 699 B.C. (p. 59)

The proposed dates for Shabaka have not changed appreciably since Redford's 1986 article. There is no point in objecting. It is not the date when Shabaka began to rule which causes the problem with the chronologies of tables 19 and 20. It is the fact that the dual kingships of Shabaka and Shabataka make no sense. Redford does discuss the joint reign but is clearly uncomfortable with the concept. Shabataka, he claims, had the "trappings of kingship" as he "administered" the Kushite homeland. (Let the reader decide if this description suits the king of Melukkha in his actions vis-à-vis Iamani and the Assyrian ruler.) He fails to discuss the problems associated with the extended length of Shabataka's reign.

> One solution might be to resuscitate the old theory of a "corregency" between Shabaka and Shebitku, although in the past such a notion has won only half-hearted acceptance. One is struck by the fact that, while Shabaka's dated texts (in the main private documents from the business community or the chancery, and therefore liable to date by the years of the regime in power) are relatively plentiful from the thebaid to the Delta, Shebitku's are conspicuous by their absence. Only the year 3 graffito from the Karnak quay is a clearly attested text germane to the problem of a corregency. It is conceivable that, with Shabaka's conquest of the lower Nile valley and the subsequent removal of the royal administration to Memphis, the conqueror had created the necessity of a bifurcation in the government of his vast dominion. While his own reign

> provided the dating scheme, Shabaka had, by his 8th year, realized the need to separate off the administration of the Kushite heartland; and this he assigned to his nephew Shebitku, complete with the trappings of kingship. One of the latter's initial acts would have been the extradition of Yamani who, as the text says, had fled ana pat Meluhha, and had been living there ever since." (p. 60)

For the most part Redford has avoided dealing with the issues we raised earlier. He had little choice. The problems have no ready answer in the framework of the traditional history.

We conclude this section of our discussion with a few remarks on the length of Shabataka's reign, since this is the second difficulty with the remaining viable chronologies (tables 21 and 22), those which assume that Shabataka ruled both Egypt and Melukkha for upwards of 22 years.. Lest the reader fail to appreciate the extent of this aspect of the chronological problem we should review a few details of the traditional history of the 25th dynasty. In that history it is an accepted fact that the terminal king Taharka ruled Egypt for 26 years, from 690-664 B.C.. Those dates are incontrovertible and are considered "certain", not only by Egyptologists, but by scholars from all related persuasions, and even by the growing field of "revisionists" who question the reliability of Egyptian chronology in earlier ages (the present author excepted). The dates for Taharka cannot move by more than a year without causing serious disruption to the entire history of the late period. Dates earlier than Taharka are in flux. The only certain date for earlier kings is the year 690 B.C. for the death of Shabataka. The only remaining question regarding this king is the date when his reign began. At most he is assigned 13 years, based largely on Manetho, as interpreted by Africanus (who records 14 years) and Eusebius (who records 12 years). At minimum he is credited with 3 years, based on the fact that no monument exists bearing his name with a year date higher than that number. His dates vary accordingly from 703-690 B.C. to 693-690 B.C.

The higher number for Shabataka (13 years) is adopted for one reason only, to assist in solving a problem of long standing in biblical interpretation. The text of 2 Kings 19:9, which describes the 701 B.C. siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, Sargon's successor on the Assyrian throne, relates how the Assyrian king responded "when he heard concerning Tirhakah, king of Cush, that he was coming out to fight against him". Tirhakah in this text is identified with Taharka by all but a few scholars (interestingly, Redford is one of the exceptions), this in spite of the fact that Taharka's kingship began eleven years later. The identification makes no sense, but is maintained nevertheless for expediency. Who else could Tirhakah be if not the 25th dynasty king in waiting, since the 25th dynasty is firmly entrenched in that time frame in the traditional history.? But since a hieroglyphic text, originating from a temple in Kawa, states specifically that Taharka was summoned to Egypt for the first time by his brother Shabataka, at the time ruling within Egypt, it must be the case that Shabataka's reign began some time prior to 701 B.C.. It follows that Shabataka's reign should be dated at least as early as 702 B.C., *in spite of the lack of monumental evidence.*

The lengthening of Shabataka's reign to accommodate the reference to Taharka as king of Egypt in 701 B.C. is a classic case of one mistake begetting another - bad history creating further historical error. There is no monumental evidence suggesting that Shabataka reigned more than a few years. In all of Egypt there are but a handful of allusions to his presence. Raising the length of his reign from three to twelve or thirteen years, as was done before the Tang-i Var discovery, was problematic enough, some would say completely unjustified, a conclusion reached by many scholars who refuse to credit this king with more than the 3 years demanded by the monuments, this in spite of the supposed biblical reference to Taharka. To now raise the length of his reign to 22 years and counting goes beyond the pale. And what will be the outcome when historians attempt to fit the 727-712 B.C. minimum dates for Shabaka into the already crowded decades of the late 8th century. It will be interesting to see how the debate continues.

With this brief history in view we ask the question which prompted this entire discussion. How does the revised history explain the reference to Shabataka in a Sargonid text inscribed in the year 706 B.C. apparently attesting the reign of this Melukkhan king as early as 712 B.C.? For it goes without saying that if the "king of Melukkha" named "Shabataku" is the same as the 25th dynasty king Shabataka, the successor of Shabaka, then the entire argument in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile,* the initial book in this *Displaced Dynasties* series, is null and void. In the revised history detailed in this book the Egyptian reign of Taharka, the successor of Shabataka, began in 569 B.C., not in 690 B.C., and it ended abruptly six years later (564 B.C.) when he was driven from Egypt by the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. According to this same history Shabataka, whose reign preceded that of Taharka, must have died in 569 B.C. He cannot have acted in 712 B.C. or even in 705 B.C. to return the exiled Iamani to the Assyrian king Sargon.

It appears at first glance that the critic is justified in citing the Tang-i Var inscription as the death knell of the revised history? But the pronouncement of doom is premature. The criticism is without foundation. We object on two grounds. On the one hand we argue that the name of Shabataka is not actually present in the text, i.e. that Grant Frame has mistranscribed the cuneiform inscription in line 20. On the other hand we maintain that even if the name were present the problems it creates belong exclusively to the traditional history, not the revised alternative. We argue the case in the reverse order, first assuming the presence of the name, then arguing for its absence.

Shabataku - Brother or Ancestor of Taharka?

It seems strange to this author that any knowledgeable critic would argue that a king of Melukkha named Shabataku, of uncertain ancestry, named in a neo-Assyrian inscription dated late in the 8th century, *must necessarily* refer to the 25th dynasty Egyptian king of Cushite origin named Shabataka who ruled Egypt immediately prior to Taharka. We admit the attractiveness of this identification for proponents of the traditional history.

Both kings have the same name. Both kings are connected directly or indirectly with a land contiguous with Egypt, possibly, though not necessarily, identical with ancient Cush. And most significantly for proponents of the traditional history, the dates for Shabataka are in reasonable agreement with the c.a. 706 B.C. date assigned to the Iamani incident by Frame and Redford. But "reasonable agreement" is the operative phrase. As we have just seen, the name creates severe problems for the traditional history. Not so for the revised history.

According to Manetho the 25th Egyptian dynasty consisted of "three Ethiopian kings" named Sabacon, Sebichos and Tarcos, identified by Egyptologists as the kings Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka of the monuments. Beyond the fact that Shabataka and Taharka are brothers, nothing definite is known about the ancestry of these kings. Even their parentage is not clearly established. It is assumed that Shabaka is of the generation prior to Shabataka and Taharka, and that he is possibly the father of the two brothers, but that fact is not certain. It is further assumed that Shabaka was either a brother or possibly a son of Piankhi who conquered the Egyptian delta earlier, in his 20th year. But again there is no confirmation of the fact. Of the ancestry of this royal family earlier than Piankhi very little is known. Some connection with a king named Kashta is conjectured. Others relate the family to the enigmatic king Rudamon, whose life intertwines with events discussed earlier in this book. Absolutely nothing is known of the generations of this family further back than Kashta.

In light of this lack of knowledge we might well rest our case. We have positioned Shabaka and Shabataka in the time frame 640-570 B.C.. The presence of an ancestor three of four generations removed, identified as a king of Melukkha and bearing a similar name, can hardly be considered a serious objection to the revised history. It would be surprising indeed if several of the ancestors of Shabaka and Shabataka did not bear this name. Several factors combine to argue the case. They have been mentioned in an earlier chapter of our book, but deserve repetition.. The most obvious is the fact that two of the three named kings of the dynasty bear the name in variant forms, attesting, if nothing else, its popularity. It is said that the name *sab* means "wild cat", an appropriate and therefore desirable name for a tribal chieftain who wished to highlight his cunning and physical prowess. According to Flinders Petrie in his discussion of the name of Shabaka:

> The present Nubian for the male wild cat is *Sab*, and *ki* is the article post-fixed. Hence in popular talk it is very likely that the king was known as *Sab* or *Shab*... HE III 284

Petrie argues further that the name passed from father to son, and that in consequence Shabataka was a son of Shabaka.

> That Shabatoka was a son of Shabaka is indicated by his name, the syllable *to* or *ato* meaning "son," and being inserted in its grammatical place before the article *ka* or *ki*. HE III 286

It is immaterial whether Petrie is correct in his assessment of the names. The fact that two of the three known kings of the family dynasty preferred the name suggests strongly that it was commonplace within the family. It may even have become a title. If a patronym it might have been passed down for centuries. In fact there does exist a memory, preserved by the Jewish scribes, attesting that very fact. In the table of nations, preserved in the 10th chapter of Genesis (Bereshith) in the Hebrew Bible, the ancestry of the Cushites is traced to Cush, a son of Ham, one of the three sons of Noah.

> The sons of Ham: Cush, Mizraim, Put and Canaan. The sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah and Sabteca. Genesis 10:6,7

Once again the prevalence of the name *Sab* is apparent. In this case three of the five named sons of Cush - Seba, Sabtah and Sabteca - appear to derive their names from that same linguistic stem. And the name *Sabteca* is arguably the same as that of the king of Melukkha in the days of Sargon of Assyria and that of the Cushite king of Egypt who preceded Taharka in the days of Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. *It was not an uncommon name.*

At best the critic can argue that temporal considerations favor the identification with Shabataka of the 25th dynasty. Better to equate the Shabataku mentioned in the Tang-i Var inscription with a king who lived at the time the inscription was recorded than to identify him as an ancestor of a king who lived a century later. Or so the reasoning might go, all other things being equal. But as we have already seen, a host of problems surround the identification of the Tang-i Var king of Melukkha with the 25th dynasty king of Egypt. Those problems are sufficiently serious to rule out the identification entirely. Viewed in this light, not only does the Tang-i Var text fail to discredit the revised history, rather, it constitutes an argument in its favor.

The identification of Shabataku, king of Melukkha as an ancestor of Taharka accords well with the revised history of the late 8th century. We have previously argued that the powerful 22nd dynasty king Osorkon II died in the year 712 B.C. and that toward the end of his reign and in the years immediately following, Egypt became increasingly fragmented. Sheshonk III and Pedubast I, and possibly others, contested for power in the north and a usurper, Takeloth II, emerged in the Theban area, founding the competing 23rd dynasty. We have also argued that this Takeloth/Takeroth II was the opponent of Sennacherib in 701 B.C., and was referenced as Tirhakah, "king of Cush" in 2 Kings 19:9. In the accompanying discussion it was stated, based on arguments supplied by Egyptologists, that Takeloth II was a Theban king and "arguably a king of Cush". The geographical term "Cush" in the late 8th and early 7th centuries, at least as used by Jewish and Assyrian scribes, was all but synonymous with "Upper Egypt". Melukkha must lie further south, "in [a distant country], in an inapproachable region" to use the words of the Assyrian scribe. We assume that Shabataku, king of Melukkha, ruled his kingdom as a contemporary of Takeloth II, Sheshonk III and Pedubast I. This duality of multiple kings ruling Egypt while a "king of Melukkha" ruled the remote regions of the Upper Nile is precisely the situation described elsewhere in the Assyrian inscriptions. In

the annals of Sennacherib which document his 3rd campaign (701 B.C.), in the midst of a description of his assault on the cities of Judah, it is noted that Hezekiah, the king of Jerusalem

> ... had become afraid and had called (for help) upon the *kings of Egypt* (Mus(u)ri) (and) the bowmen, the chariot(-corps) and the cavalry of the king of Ethiopia (Meluhha), an army beyond counting - and they (actually) had come to their assistance. In the plain of Eltekeh (Al-ta-qu-u), their battle lines were drawn up against me and they sharpened their weapons. Upon a trust (-inspiring) oracle (given) by Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. In the melee of the battle, I personally captured alive the Egyptian charioteers with the(ir) princes and (also) the charioteers of the king of Ethiopia. (ANET 288)

"Kings of Egypt" in this inscription may refer to Sheshonk III, Pedubast I and Takeloth II.[464] There may be others. The king of Melukkha could be the Shabataku who returned Iamani to Sargon II ten years earlier. Or he may be a successor of this king. The idea of multiple kings of Egypt existing alongside of an independent king of Melukkha is entirely foreign to any historical situation that can be hypothesized for the late 25th dynasty, when either Shabataka or Shabaka is considered to have ruled all of Egypt, including the lands southward as far as the 4th cataract.

We repeat our earlier claim. The presence of the name Shabataku in the Tang-i Var inscription is a problem for the traditional history. It does nothing but affirm the essential reliability of the revised history.

For Frame and Redford there is no convenient solution to the problem of the Tang-i Var text. The two authors have no alternative but to identify Shabataku and Shabataka. It is not the correspondence in name and country which demands the identification. Far from it. If the Tang-i Var rock inscription were ascribed to any Assyrian king earlier than Sargon, or even if were dated at the beginning of Sargon's reign, then the equation Shabataku = Shabataka would not have been given a moments consideration. The two scholars would have arrived at the same conclusions reached by the present author, that Shabataku was at best an ancestor of the 25th dynasty kings. It was the correspondence in date alone that forced the hand of the interpreters. The reign of Sargon (722-705 B.C.) during which the Iamani incident took place overlaps the chronological placement of the 25th dynasty kings Shabaka and Shabataka in the traditional history, leaving no alternative but to identify Shabataku with Shabataka. There is no room for another king of like name occupying the same time frame. Shabataku cannot be an ancestor of Shabataka if the traditional history is correct. He must be the 25th dynasty king himself.

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[464] We have previously discussed the problems interpreting the geographical terms Cush and Melukkha as used by biblical and Assyrian scribes. Earlier we proposed an alternative explanation of the Assyrian references in this problematic text (see above pages 77-78 and note 83)

But the very same temporal considerations which demand the identification combine to damn it. The only alternative is to question the traditional history which creates the problem.

In view of what has been argued we should conclude the argument here. The Tang-i Var inscription does not support the traditional history and it does not condemn the dates for the 25th dynasty proposed in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*.

When the substance of this book was first published in html format on-the internet we omitted any reference to the Tang-i Var inscription from the argument in the book itself, relegating discussion, as here, to a sort of appendix. Its inclusion would have necessitated extensive discussion which would have detracted from the flow of the argument, and the presence of the name was not a problem which needed to be defended, a fact we have just argued. That would have been sufficient reason to ignore it. But in fact that was not the actual justification for its exclusion. At the time there existed in my mind a more fundamental reason. When I first read Frame's article in the fall of 1999 I could not read the name Shabataka in the text. What Frame read as ša-pa-ta-ku-[u] I read as ša pa-at-tu-[u] and have subsequently come to read as ša pa-at tu-[?]. The concluding section of this article is dedicated to a discussion of the proposed emendation.

Shabataku or "ša pa-at tu-?"

There are several reasons for believing that the four cuneiform characters read ša-pa-ta-ka- on line 20 in the Tang-i Var inscription should be read ša pa-at tu- . There are also many reasons for agreeing with Frame. Since I would prefer to see the name than to argue for its absence I will present both sides of the argument.

The presence of the name of Shabataku in the Tang-i Var inscription is unexpected. As we have noted several times already, two other inscriptions describe the same incident and neither one supplies the name of the Melukkhan king. This omission is particularly surprising for two reasons. Both these alternative texts are located in the palace annals of Sargon, lining the walls of palace rooms, where they would be constantly viewed by the Assyrian king and where he would most likely supply the name of the king whose act of contrition is celebrated therein. And one of these texts, the Display Inscription, is much more detailed in its description of events related to the Iamani incident than is the Tang-i Var text. We wonder why the name of Shabataku is supplied only in a rock inscription in a remote mountain pass near Tang-i Var, 40 m. above ground, inaccessible to all but mountain goats and venturesome archaeologists with sturdy ropes.

And a secondary question arises when we reflect on the three decades which passed between the time when the rock inscription was discovered and the time when Grant Frame first read the name Shabataku in the inscription. The discoverers not only viewed

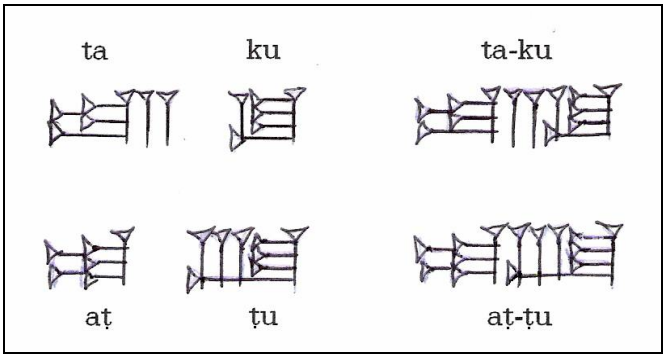
the text from inches away, they made casts of the cuneiform impressions. Dr. Vallat, who took the photographs on which Frame relied, also viewed the inscription from close up. Why did these early observers fail to read the name of Shabataku in the text? Frame argues that the discoverers were not cuneiform specialists. But what of the cast impressions. Were they not examined by specialists? We are not informed as to the qualifications of Dr. Vallat, but we must assume that both he and others who viewed the slides he took of the inscription, failed to notice the name of Shabataka. If R. Labat requested the slides, did he not examine them? Labat was one of the leading Assyriologists of his time. And it does not take a cuneiform specialist to recognize a proper name in a cuneiform text. The name is typically preceded by a single vertical stroke, a name determinant or "personenkeil". Frame sees this mark at the beginning of line 20 and indicates the fact by the transliteration (^{m}). Why was this not visible to the early observers?

A final argument derives from a comparison of the Display Inscription and the Tang-i Var inscription in their respective accounts of the Iamani incident. We recall from Redford's 1985 article that ...

> Unable to find a safe haven in Egypt, Yamani passed clean through the land *ana ite Musri sa pat Meluhha*, "to the frontier of Egypt which is (contiguous) to the territory of Kush." At this point he fell into the hands of the king of Kush who, at an unspecified later date, extradited him to Assyria.

The phrase "*ša pat Meluhha*" can best be translated "which borders (on) Melukkha" [though note that Kitchen and many other translate "which belongs to"] and the phrase "*ana ite*" means literally "to the extremity (of)" Both *pat* and *ite* are construct nouns. It is curious, to say the least, that my initial reading of line 20 of the Tang-i Var inscription saw the identical three cuneiform signs "sa pa-at" followed closely by the place name "KUR Melukkha" ("land of Melukkha") precisely as they appear on the parallel text of the Display Inscription. Frame reads the third sign as "ta" rather than "at". The fourth sign, which Frame reads as "ka" appears to be a "tu". In fact, it is not simply the case that Frame reads "ta-ku" where I read "at-tu" but rather that we see slighly different impressions and that we place the division between the constituent elements of the respective signs differently, i.e. that the combination "ta-ku" taken as a whole is visibly very similar to the combination "at-tu" viewed collectively. (note that the t's in both "at" and "tu" are emphatic) In line 20 of Frame's transliteration we note that the signs immediately following the combination ša-pa-ta-ku- , including the word "king" are obscured in the text but supplied in the translation. They may not be present.

Figure 38: Similarity of the Combinations "ta-ku" and "at(emphatic)-t(emphatic)u"



The only change that has taken place since my initial reading is the introduction of a word division between the 3rd and 4th signs. I now read ša pa-at tu-? rather than ša pa-at-tu-? If tu- is the beginning of the construct tu-ur then the emended text reads "which borders on the extremity of the land of Melukkha" This is remarkable close to the *ana ite Musri sa pat Meluhha* of the Display Inscription, and argues for the reasonableness of the emendation.

There are two arguments against the proposed emendation, both of considerable weight, and both highly technical. The first and most obvious is the fact that the emendation of the first half of line 20 requires the emendation of portions of the end of line 19. The problem is difficult to evaluate. The shadows at the end of line 19 constitute one difficulty. The subjectivity involved in reading the many partially obscured signs is another. The problem is compounded by the fact that Dr. Frame, when transcribing the Tang-i Var inscription, was cognizant of the parallel texts and probably used them to at least guide his deliberations.

The second argument is related to the first. I have used the parallel text of the Display Inscriptions to guide my reading of the beginning of line 20. How subjective was my reading of the beginning of line 20? In the spring of the year 2000, I sought a second opinion from a respected Assyriologist. He concurred with Frame. The gist of his response goes as follows (understand that he was responding to my first suggestion, i.e. that the reading should be ša pa-at-tu-) :

> I have gotten to look at the ORIENTALIA article. Here are my results. The signs in question are the fourth and fifth. There is a PERSONENKEIL at the beginning. The signs appear to be as Frame read them-ta and ku. They are clearest to me on Plates 7 and 11. I can also make them out on Plates 4, 5, 6,

> and 12. You are correct that the signs are very similar, uncannily so in this order, but they still appear to be clearly as Frame read them. The lower horizontal of the Ta extends to the first vertical. There is a space between the third vertical of the TA and the vertical of the KU. The lower horizontal of the KU begins before the first vertical of that sign and not before two verticals back, as it would in T(emph)U. PA:T(emphatic)U is a noun. There is no verb from this root.(personal correspondence)[465]

I have the utmost regard for the opinion of my colleague. I place a question mark over the entire discussion only because it involves questions of eyesight, rather than technical knowledge, and because both he and I (and Grant Frame) are dependent for our conclusions on photographs of extremely poor quality. If my friend is correct then the question is settled. The name Shabataka remains in the text and we revert to the argument presented at the beginning of this discussion. The presence of the name argues for the legitimacy of the revised history. I have no desire to remove it.

Redford concluded his brief note in Orientalia appropriately:

> The above is suggested with a diffidence born of the knowledge of how spotty is our historical record of the period in question. A number of other solutions are conceivable, and undoubtedly will be trotted out in due time. (p. 60)

We echo these sentiments and await developments.

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[465] Personal correspondence from Dr. Walter Bodine, Near Eastern Languages, Yale University.

Appendix B
Hedjkheppere Sheshonk – A Reevaluation

As early as the year 2000[1], this author came to the conclusion that a king named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruled in the north of Egypt between Sheshonk III (712-673) and Pemay (660-654 B.C.) That conclusion was unavoidable for three reasons.

1. In the first place the revised history being developed in the online version of *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* had already determined that the 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk III ruled in Egypt during the years 712-673 B.C. Several Serapeum stelae demanded that a gap of 26 years must exist between the 28th year of this king and the 2nd year of one of his successors, named Pemay, whose reign lasted at least six years.[2] This necessitated assigning to Pemay the regnal years 660-654 B.C., leaving a gap of 13 years in the chronology of the "22nd dynasty" that needed to be filled. Since much of this gap (673-660 B.C.) overlapped the first ten years of the Assyrian occupation of Egypt, and since the Assyrian annals of Ashurbanipal named a "*Su-si-in-qu, king of Bu-si-ru"* as one of the appointed rulers in the north of Egypt during these years, it followed that this otherwise unknown Sheshonk must be the missing king. At this point the second consideration came into play.

2. Our revised chronology had already determined that the 22nd dynasty did not begin in Egypt around the year 945 B.C. as argued by traditionalist Egyptologists. Its dates had to be reduced, minimally, by the identical 121 years applied to the 23rd through 26th dynasties, a reduction supported by a book full of evidence. This meant, in turn, that the king Sheshonk I from the Pasenhor genealogy could not be the biblical Sheshak who attacked Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, in the late 10th century. Of necessity the 22nd dynasty began, at the earliest, well over a century later. It followed from these considerations that there were absolutely no grounds for maintaining the fiction that the king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk who authored the Bubastite wall inscription must be identified as Sheshonk I. But if he was not Sheshonk I, then where did he fit into our revised historical sequence, and what was the nature of the attack on Palestinian cities described on his wall inscription? One consideration at least

[1]The online publication of *Nebuchadrezzar & the Egyptian Exile* was begun on May 1, 2000 and was completed Dec. 31 that same year.

[2]See note 64, page 58 in the printed version of *Nebuchadnezzar* published earlier this year (A.D. 2008).

suggested that the wall inscription was inscribed around the end of the first quarter of the 7th century. If so, then Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, its author, must have reigned in this time frame. What was this consideration?

At least a year before composing the third chapter of the first book in A.D. 2000, I became convinced that both sides of the Bubastite wall/gate complex (the section between the 2nd pylon and the small temple of Ramses III) were inscribed within a short time of one another, and likely very soon after its construction - the inside by Prince Osorkon (whose revised dates before he assumed the kingship are c.a.705-673) and the outside by Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, who must have been a contemporary of Prince Osorkon. [Traditionalist Egyptologists must explain why the outside of the wall was inscribed first, supposedly in ca. 940 B.C., while the inside of the wall, that which is typically inscribed first, was left blank for well over a century, from the time of Shishak till the time of prince Osorkon (c.a. 800 B.C.)].

The Sheshonk inscription, in my opinion, predates the Chronicle of prince Osorkon by at most a few months. It may even have been inscribed slightly later. The Chronicle was composed in the last years of Osorkon's tenure as HPA, thus shortly before 673 B.C. The Bubastite wall had just been completed, or was in the process of completion. The inscription of king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, which adorned the outside of the gateway portal, was very likely part of the finishing work of the construction. It must also date around 673 B.C. It no doubt predates the 671 B.C. conquest by Esarhaddon, and perhaps records cities subjugated by Egypt in the immediate aftermath of the brief but illusory Egyptian victory over Esarhaddon in 674 B.C. Other interpretations, of course, are possible.

3. A final consideration, that which early on convinced this author absolutely that the king Sheshonk who ruled in the interval between Sheshonk III and Pemay was named Hedjkheperre, is the data on the Pasenhor genealogy discussed in our Appendix A. Based on the alternative interpretation given to the Petrie version of the genealogy, we had already determined the possibility that a king named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, with most of the family connections wrongly assigned to Sheshonk I in the traditional history, lived and ruled in Egypt early in the second quarter of the 7th century. Pasenhor's stele was erected in the 37th year of Sheshonk V (654-618 B.C.), thus in the last year of that king's life (618 B.C.). On the assumption that Pasenhor was at the time a young priest, say 20 years of age, and that a generation in priestly circles amounted to roughly 20 years, then Pasenhor

must have been born around 638 B.C. and Nimlot, in the 5th generation back, was born around 738 B.C. The birth of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, the son of Nimlot, would therefore date around 718 B.C., and he would have been around 45 years of age when he replaced Sheshonk III in Bubastis in 673 B.C., if indeed he ruled in Bubastis. These calculation are admittedly crude, but well within reason.

Having reached these conclusions early in the year 2000 it was particularly gratifying to hear, three years later, that an influential Egyptologist had independently come to the same conclusion, using other evidence.[3] In 1993 Aidan Dodson published an article in the journal *Gottinger Miszellen* entitled "A new King Shoshenq confirmed?"[4], in which he argued the existence of a "second" Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruling precisely in the interval between Sheshonk III and Pemay (his Pami). We leave it to our readers to peruse the article and follow the gist of his reasoning for themselves. Sufficient here to note the one aspect of his argument with which we strongly disagree. Dodson maintains the traditionalist view that the first king of the 22nd dynasty was also named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, that this king authored the Bubastite inscription and must be identified with the king Sheshak who attacked Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam. Nothing essential has changed in the traditional history, which still believes that the 22nd dynasty began with the reign of this "first" Hedjkheperre Sheshonk in the latter half of the 10th century. The "newly discovered" Hedjkheperre is a namesake king only, whose pedigree is yet to be determined. Egyptologists, who have universally endorsed Dodson's argument, now refer to this newly discovered king as Sheshonk IV, renumbering the obscure king who formerly bore this number as Sheshonk VI.

Shortly after the publication of chapter 3 of *Nebuchadnezzar* I received an e-mail from one critic informing me that I had not incorporated into my chronological outline Dodson's second king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. My online response to that criticism is reproduced below.

> "I am aware of Dodson's recent claim that a 2nd Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruled in Egypt following Sheshonk III. The fact that I make no mention of this king in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* is consistent with the summary treatment of the entire 22nd dynasty provided in that revision. I avoid all 22nd dynasty history prior to Osorkon II and I had no intention of opening a Pandora's box by identifying the conjectured successor of Sheshonk

[3]It has recently come to this author's attention that the historical revisionist David Rohl, several years earlier than 2000, had already concluded that there existed a second Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruling after Sheshonk III. What is unique to this revision is the time frame in which this king lived and perhaps our conclusions regarding the pedigree of this king.
[4]GM 137 (1993) 53-58.

> III, so I left a gap of 13 years between the death of Sheshonk III in ca. 673 B.C. and the beginning of the reign of Pemay in c.a. 660 B.C. But I am well aware that another Sheshonk ruled in that time slot (along with multiple other local dynasts throughout Egypt). That time frame corresponds to the beginning of the Assyrian occupation and it is clear from the Assyrian annals that a "Su-si-in-qu, king of Bu-si-ru" governed the north central delta from Busiris during those criticial years, precisely in the interval between the death of Sheshonk III and the advent of Pemay. The conclusion that this king is the Hedjkheperre Sheshonk identified by Aidan Dodson is inescapable. What will be more surprising to you, and to traditionalist and revisionist historians alike, is my belief that this Hedjkheperre is the author of the inscription on the Bubastite Portal of the Karnak temple, that which is typically credited to Hedjkheperre Sheshonk I and which (wrongly) serves to identify him as the 10th century contemporary of Rehoboam of Judah. The matter will be discussed briefly in my second book.

In the recently revised and published paper version of *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* (2008) the table outlining the kings of the 22nd dynasty is left precisely as it was published on-line in the year 2000. The blank between Sheshonk III and Pemay is left unfilled, save for question marks and a note at the bottom of the page stating that “A name will be supplied in the second book of our series”.

We might conclude this discussion at this point save for two features of the reign of our Hedjkheperre Sheshonk which are sure to provoke a response from the critics. The first concerns his reign length and the second relates to our earlier discussion regarding the bodies in DB320. We briefly discuss these two issues, in the order cited.

<u>The Reign Length of the second Hedjkheperre</u>. We have argued that Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruled in Busiris during the first ten years of the Assyrian domination of Egypt and that he must therefore be the king who fills the thirteen year gap between the death of Sheshonk III and the beginning of the reign of Pemay (673-660 B.C.). We have further argued that he authored the Bubastite gate inscription around the beginning of this time frame. All would be well and good save for several inscriptions bearing his name that assign to him upwards of 21 regnal years, and one in particular, the so-called Silsila stela (see above, p. 286) which suggests that the Bubastite wall/gate construction must be dated sometime around his 21st year. These two scenarios are clearly not compatible. How do we solve this problem?

The most straightforward solution is to assume that Hedjkheperre actually began ruling in Egypt as early as 694 B.C., though certainly not in Bubastis, the seat of government for the 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk III. His “reign” may have been

nothing more than an auxiliary position in support of his relative[5], and was perhaps located in nearby Busiris, where the Assyrians later positioned him as a regional governmental official. We remind the reader that the whole of Egypt at this time was in turmoil. It was a chaotic period we termed the "great disruption" in the first book of our series. Multiple claimants for kingships and high priesthoods struggled for power. Kings from four different dynasties, the 20th through the 23rd, claimed parts of Egypt as their own, each amounting to little more than a nomarchy. According to our admittedly crude calculation on page 296 above, Hedjkheperre Sheshonk was born around 718 B.C. In 694 he would be around 24 years old., a reasonable age for an ambitious young man to reckon himself a king.

But if Hedjkheperre conceived of his reign as beginning in 694 B.C., and if he is the Sheshonk who ruled in Busiris during the Assyrian occupation, then his reign continued at least through the year 667, the time when the Assyrian annals records that name. Thus his reign lasted at least into his 28th year. Where are the documents attesting this extended reign? If he ruled through to the time of Pemay in 660, his 35th year, the difficulty is compounded. How do we explain the absence of monuments beyond his 21st year? Again the answer is straightforward.

Very few of the Egyptian "kings and regents" listed in the Assyrian annals have recorded these years of captivity, and small wonder. They may have been called kings by the Assyrians, but they had limited power. We assume they authored few, if any, monuments. The king named Limintu in the Assyrian annals, who ruled in Hermopolis, may well be a known son of our Hedjkheperre Sheshonk named Nimlot, who functioned during the earlier years of his father in nearby Heracleopolis as "Leader of the entire army" (TIP 246-7). No records have been found documenting an Assyrian king by this name. Certainly none which entitle him as a king. Another Assyrian conscript is named "Buaima (or Puaima) king of Pitinti". If this is Pemay, son and successor of Sheshonk III, as we suspect, then Pemay did not regard these years under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal as worthy of mention. For reasons unknown he began counting his years as of 660 B.C. We assume, though we cannot prove, that Sheshonk IV (Hedjkheperre) considered his reign to have effectively ended when in 671 B.C. Esarhaddon invaded Egypt and dispossessed its kings. How long he served under the Assyrians is unknown.

[5]We have adopted the position that Sheshonk III and Takeloth II, both of whom ruled in parts of Egypt in 694 B.C., were both sons of Osorkon II. Our Sheshonk IV was a maternal grandson of Osorkon II according to our interpretation of the Pasenhor stele.

The Bodies in DB320. Many times already we have referred to the bodies of famous dynastic kings hidden by the "21st dynasty" Theban priest/kings in a tomb near Deir el-Bahri near Thebes. The first and only time we described this cache we quoted from Gardiner regarding its discovery and extent (see above, p. 145). Gardiner's concluding remarks bear repeating.

> Among the latest burials were those of Pinudjem II and his already-mentioned spouse Neskhons. After them the cache was sealed up in the tenth year of the Tanite king Siamun, but *was reopened once more in the reign of King Shoshenk I in order to inter a priest of Amun named Djedptahef'onkh.* EP320-21 (italics added)

Our concern at this time is with the 3rd prophet of Amun named Djedptahefankh. His remains have spawned an extensive debate among students of Egyptian history, both professional and otherwise. The debate concerns not so much the identity of this individual, as it does the implications of his presence in the tomb on the timeline of the final days of the DB320 cache, as well as argument regarding the original owner of the tomb itself. Curiously, these questions do not concern us here. Instead we wonder about the accuracy of Gardiner's final remarks, and the precise identity of this priest. Who is he? And why was he deemed so important that the DB320 tomb, supposedly sealed near the end of the 21st dynasty, was reopened early in the reign of Sheshonk I of the 22nd dynasty, with the sole purpose of depositing his body. We speak here, of course, from the point of view of the traditional history? Critics supportive of that history argue from his presence that the 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk I followed successively on the heels of the 21st dynasty, a counter-argument to our present thesis. What is our response to this potential criticism of our revised timeline?

There is no problem providing the answer. A single sentence should suffice. *Djedptahefankh was not the last body deposited in the DB320 tomb.* He may even have been among the first. Gardiner is mistaken in his quoted comment. The body of Djedptahefankh was buried deep within the DB320 tomb. The arrangement of bodies and coffers in the shaft tomb, when it was first accessed by authorities, totally contradicts Gardiner's claim the the body of the 3rd prophet was a late intrusion. At minimum critics may argue that many of the DB320 bodies were moved from other locations into DB320, along with that of Djedptahefankh, this taking place sometime during the reign of Sheshonk I. But even this notion would deny the critic's claim that the death of Djedptahefankh necessarily postdates the death of Pinudjem II, or other late 21st Theban dynasty dignitaries who are also

cached in this tomb, and often very much nearer the tomb entrance. Our thesis that Djedkheperre died early, probably before the Assyrian invasion, is in no way contradicted by the evidence in the tomb. If anything, the location of the bodies argues in favor of the fact that Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, who inscribed several of the bandages on the mummy of Djedptahefankh, must precede in time the reign of Pinudjem II..[6]

As mentioned, the connection of Djedkheperre with Hedjkheperre Sheshonk IV (not I) derives from several of the bandage wrappings on the mummy, which contain inscriptions stating that the linen was made by, or dedicated by, king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk (both names are present) and by his high priestly son Iupet. The dates on the bandages range from year 5 to year 11. This implies that Djedptahefankh died sometime soon after the 11th year of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, in the revised history 684 B.C. on the assumption that 694 B.C. was his first regnal year.

Though Hedjkheperre Sheshonk IV ruled in the north of Egypt, his son Iupet was apparently the high priest of Amun in the south, and Djedptahefankh, as 3rd prophet of Amun would be a functionary under Iupet in the Theban temple. It is therefore not surprising that when this dignitary died his superior performed the burial rites, using materials provided by and endorsed by himself. He undoubtedly added the inscriptions in his father's name. Thirty years later, perhaps more, Djedptahefankh's tomb was robbed by the Theban priest/kings, relatives of Menkheperre. The body was removed and deposited either in DB320 or elsewhere, whence it arrived at its present location.

[6]Apparently late in the 20th century the revisionist David Rohl argued this very thesis and was severaly criticized for his efforts. Unfortunately I am unaware of the precise context of his remarks.

Appendix C: The Descendants of Menkheperre

There are at least two reasons why the immediate descendants of Menkheperre have been misplaced chronologically. Two erroneous assumptions undergird all scholarly discussion vis-a-vis these Theban priest/kings, namely, the belief 1) that the 21st Tanite and Theban branches of the dynasty ran parallel with each other; and 2) that there could not exist at one and the same time multiple high priests of Amun. In a moment we will discuss the first of these errors, by far the most substantial. As for the second we need only add a few comments to those made earlier on the subject.

We have previously stated our opinion that throughout the duration of the Theban dynasty there likely coexisted at least three active "high priests of Amun", one in Tanis, one in Thebes, and one in Napata. Though we agree with the experts that at any given temple at any one time there could only be one *acting* high priest, this is not to say that a priest/king could not pass on his duties as high priest to a successor, yet maintain the high priestly title in official documents. We have already seen in the case of Pinudjem I that a king can relinquish his high priesthood, or at least the official duties thereof, to a successor, all the while maintaining the honorific title "high priest", much as any 20th century dignitary, a mayor for example, continues to be referenced by his former title long after leaving office. We pointed out how Pinudjem I took to his grave two funerary chests which ignore his kingship and address him only as "high priest". Apparently he was a priest until the end, maintaining that title through the high priesthood of his son Masaharta. In such cases we have what amounts to overlapping priesthoods. For the duration there coexisted two high priests associated with the same temple, at least in name, though only one is actively involved in the temple worship. We will see this principle operating in the case of both Smendes II and Pinudjem II, both of whom, we argue, took over the high priestly duties of Menkheperre at various times in that king's lengthy reign. Meanwhile Menkheperre continued to hold the title HPA. We are not guessing. The monuments argue in our favor.

The first of the two errant assumptions - that the Tanite and Theban 21st dynasties ran parallel with each other – has introduced enormous error into scholarly discussion of the monuments. Repeatedly we read in the textbooks how Smendes II and Pinudjem II were contemporaries of a northern king Amenemopet, who in one document is associated with a regnal year 49, whether his own or that of some

other king. Operating on the assumption that the Tanite and Theban dynasties of kings were contemporaries has forced traditional scholars to identify this Amenemopet with Manetho's Amenophthis, and in many cases to disregard the 9 years assigned Amenophthis by Africanus and substitute 49 years (or longer) in its place.[1] A similar confusion has resulted from the mention of a northern king Siamun in documents associated with Pinudjem II, leading some scholars, like Kenneth Kitchen, to conclude that Psinaches and Siamun are the same king, with disastrous consequences for the interpretation of the documents concerned.

A glance at figure 15 on page 208 will illustrate to the reader the enormity of the problem faced by interpreters in the traditional history. In the revised history, in the year 625 B.C. (or thereabouts) the 21st Tanite dynasty ceased to exist, as described by Manetho, with the death of Aakheperre Psusennes II. Thus, during most of the reign of Menkheperre (638-584 B.C.), and for almost the entirely of the terms in office of Smendes II, Pinudjem II, and Psusennes III, none of the 21st dynasty Tanite kings named by Manetho existed. Amenemope and Siamun must have followed Psusennes II in time. The only question is when the reigns of Amenemopet and Siamun began and ended.

We remain convinced that Amenemopet cannot be identified as Manetho's Amenophthis, in spite of the resemblance in name. The tomb of Amenemopet at Tanis was found by Montet. It arguably belongs to the late 7th or early sixth century, and since the body of Amenemopet had been removed from *his* tomb and was found in the tomb belonging to Aakheperre Psusennes, our Psusennes II, he was almost certainly a relative and a successor of that Tanite king. In a moment we will

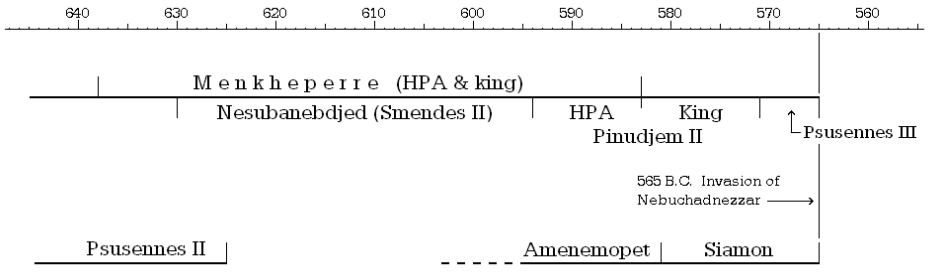
[1]It is true that the name Amenemopet bears a striking resemblance to Manetho's Amenophthis, but so also do the names of multiple Egyptians bearing names compounded with that of the god Amon. Amenhotep, for example, was a most popular name with dignitaries, used by at least one notable high priest, who not only has the right name and title, but is correctly positioned chronologically to be identified with Manetho's Amenophthis in the revised history. We have assigned Manetho's Amenophthis the dates 684-675 B.C. (table 13, p. 201) If we are correct a similarly named HPA should be found in this approximate time frame. This is in fact the case. According to our revised dates Ramses XI ruled during these critical years. We have assigned to him the dates 689-662 B.C. (table 15, p. 206). We mentioned in an earlier chapter that the early years of Ramses XI took place during the period we called the great disruption (701-671 B.C.). The traditional history calls this the time of the "war of the high priest." The central character in this war an otherwise unknown high priest named Amenhotep. All that can be said about him from the few documents which name him is that for a time he took control of the Theban temple, from which he was driven during one of the forays of the enigmatic viceroy of Nubia named Pinhasi. According to Kitchen "Ramesses X reigned briefly (whether 3 years or 9) and left no mark. But fresh crises persisted into the early years of Ramses XI. In one of these reigns, disturbances arose in both Thebes and in the North; in Thebes, the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, was 'suppressed' for 8 or 9 months. He may have survived this experience for a time at least. The 'war of the High Priest' was long remembered." (TIP 208) There is no need to pursue the matter. The time is right. The name is also right. Amenhotep is arguably an intruder from the north, and thus can reasonably be identified as the high priest of the Tanite temple of Amun. That his high priestly role (rather than his kingship) is emphasized in the monuments cannot be considered a problem. This dignitary was clearly no mere cleric. Barring evidence to the contrary we can safely identify him with Manetho's Amenophthis

return to discuss Amenemopet's remains, and his despoiled tomb nearby that of Psusennes.

The claim that Siamun belongs in Manetho's list requires even less time to refute. Manetho does not seem to know a king by this name living in the last days of the Tanite dynasty. Egyptologists have wondered for years whether Siamun should be identified with Osochor or Psinaches in Manetho's list, and if not then why his name was omitted from the dynastic succession. They can stop wondering. Siamun postdated Amenemopet and ruled in the last days of the kingship of Pinudjem II and through the reign of Psusennes III. All of the evidence which dates Pinudjem II and Psusennes III to the early decades of the 6th century argues that Siamon's reign fell in that time frame. In a moment we will argue that he was the last Tanite king to rule before some disaster befell not only Tanis, but all of Egypt. And we will identify this calamity with the destruction of the country at the hands of the army of Nebuchadrezzar in 565 B.C. Siamon was not succeeded by a king named Psusennes, nor by any other king. He was likely a captive or a casualty of the invasion, and with his enforced exile, or death, the operations of the Tanite temple came to an end.

At long last we are ready to date the terminal priest/kings of the 21st Theban dynasty and their Tanite counterparts Amenemopet and Siamon. We begin with the Tanite kings. To enable the reader to better follow the discussion we reproduce our figure 20 from page 281, augmenting it only slightly.

Figure 27: Terminal "21st Theban" priest/kings
and their Tanite counterparts (duplicate of figure 20).
Long reign for Smendes II.



Amenemopet and Siamon

The highest year date assigned with certainty to Siamon is his 17th. We assume that this was his last year as king in Tanis. It is known that in his tenth year Siamon buried Pinudjem II in the tomb DB320 and moved the bodies of at least three notable 19th dynasty kings - Seti I, Ramses I and II - into that same tomb. In the years that immediately followed, Psusennes III continued this consolidation by entombing at the site of the "second find" at Deir el Bahri, dozens of bodies of famous kings and queens from repositories elsewhere in Thebes. It is interesting to read in the textbooks the lauditory comments of 20th century scholars, praising the Tanite and Theban pontiffs for their careful treatment of these "revered" ancestors, blissfully unaware that the priests were merely disposing of the evidence of their tomb robberies. According to Kitchen:

> Finally, Year 10 of Siamun (c. 969 B.C.) was a year of drastic upheaval in the necropolis of Western Thebes. In that year, Pinudjem II died and was succeeded by his son, Psusennes 'III'. For over a century, the new man's predecessors had striven vainly to check the plundering of the noble dead, the pharaohs and great families of the empire. Here and there, groups of mummies had been collected in one tomb or another for greater safety. Now at last it was decided to guard the ancestral dead in the same way as had been used by the priests themselves to secure the burials of their own company: by interment in one or two large groups in secret hiding-places. So the bodies of the revered Amenophis I, and of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II were lodged in the secret tomb of Pinudjem II and his wife. Psusennes 'III' then proceeded to inter almost forty mummies of empire pharaohs and their relatives and of his own line, together with the battered remains of their funerary equipment. TIP 233

There must have been good reason for this rush to action, perhaps some impending peril. We assume therefore that the reigns of Siamon in the North (and Psusennes III in the South) immediately preceded the arrival of Nebuchadrezzar in Egypt, and that the threatened Babylonian invasion was the catalyst which prompted the mass burials. We cannot be far wrong if we date the 17th year, and thus the end of the reign of Siamon, in the Julian year 565 B.C. Working backward 17 years from this date we tentatively assign the beginning of his reign to the year 581 B.C., three years after the death of Menkheperre Piankhi. The years 581-565 B.C. provide, at minimum, a working framework for discussion. Providing dates for Amenemopet is not so straightforward.

We have very little evidence concerning the date when Amenemopet began to reign in Egypt. There does exist, however, considerable data which suggests that

the reigns of Amenemopet and Siamon ran consecutively, which would provide a date for the end of Amenemopet's reign. The argument is necessarily circuitous.

In the first place we know that Amenemopet's reign overlapped a good part (if not all) of the high priesthood of Pinudjem II, since both names occur in "various combinations on braces, pendants and (undated) linen from nine mummies, 'second find' at Deir el Bahri". (TIP 388 XI 50.) Secondly, there exists a "Year 1, 4th Akhet, 1: bandage on mummy No. 105 having also Year 48 "*n*" Menkheperre and braces of the HPA Pinudjem (II)" (TIP 388 XI 51).[2] This shows that the high priesthood of Pinudjem II extended back in time at least to the 48th year of Menkheperre. Finally, we recall from comments made earlier that there exists a bandage fragment inscribed with the name of Amenemopet, followed immediately by a reference to a year 49[3], leading us to conclude that the reign of Amenemopet also extended back in time to at least the 49th year of Menkheperre. Ergo, the reigns of Amenemopet and the high priesthood of Pinudjem ran parallel to one another for many years beginning at the latest in the 49th year of Piankhi, 590 B.C. in the revised chronology. Since the reign of Siamun began in 581 B.C. it follows that the reign of Amenemopet probably extended on to the beginning of the reign of his successor.

As stated, determining the year when Amenemopet *began* his reign is much more difficult, there being little evidence on which to base a conclusion. Amenemopet's ransacked tomb was found by Montet near that of Aakheperre Psusennes II, and the body of Amenemopet had been transported into the tomb of Psusennes. This suggests, if it doesn't prove, that Amenemopet postdated Psusenees II, whose death we have placed in the late 7th century B.C. Amenemopet's tomb had been robbed of all but a few trinkets, one bearing the name of Siamon, understandable if Siamon had assisted in his burial. His body, left intact by robbers, was placed in the coffin Psusennes had provided for his wife, queen Mutnodjmet. This evidence raises the questions - who desecrated Amenemopet's tomb? and who moved his body to Psusennes' tomb? - questions to which we have no certain answer. We do note that another artifact bearing Siamun's name was found at the entrance to Psusennes' tomb, leading to speculation that it was he who reinterred his predecessor. That would imply that Amenemopet's tomb was desecrated during the lifetime of Siamon, either while Siamon was tenured in Tanis, or less likely,

[2]We assume this bandage was kept for six years before being used in the 1st year of Pinudjem as king – hence the year 1 date, which references the kingship of Pinudjem II which began in 584.

[3]Livre des Rois III 293 IV

during the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, while Siamon lived in exile elsewhere, whence he must have returned surreptitiously when Babylonian garrisons guarded the country. But much of this is speculation, and none of this discussion tells us when the reign of Amenemopet began.

Only one artifact even remotely suggests an answer to the question. When Montet excavated the tomb of Osorkon II, he found in one of the adjoining rooms the body of a youth named Harnakht, whose mummy, according to "expert opinion", belonged to that of a child around 8 or 9 years old. A single bracelet inscription identified the child as the son of Osorkon and his wife Karoama. Surprisingly, while much of Osorkon's tomb had been looted by robbers, the crypt containing the remains of Harnakht, while in a state of disarray, contained a considerable number of gold and silver artifacts, including a silver coffin.[4] Even more curious was the fact that several inscriptions associated with Harnakht identified him as a high priest of Amun, a revelation that caused Egyptologists to scramble for explanation.[5] Near the coffin were found several artifacts which are believed to be out of context, raising questions which also require answers.[6] The artifact which most concerns us here is a small lapis-lazuli statuette inscribed by "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, first prophet of Amon, Amene*n*apit, beloved of Amon." In spite of the spelling error, the statuette clearly belongs to our king Amene*mo*pet. How do we explain the presence of this artifact in the tomb of a young prince whose death and (original) burial undoubtedly took place prior to the death and burial of Osorkon in 712 B.C., almost 130 years before the earliest date thus far attested for Amenemopet's reign (590 B.C.)? Before we attempt to answer this admittedly difficult question we should point out that explanation should also be required from traditional historians. In that history Amenemopet was an insignificant *21st* dynasty king who ruled for 9 years around 990 B.C. Harnakht, on the other hand, was an equally insignificant youth of the *22nd* dynasty who died prematurely sometime during the reign of his father Osorkon II, say around 850 B.C. How do

[4]This suggests to us that Harnakht was a much later reburial. Perhaps the body, along with the gold and silver funerary objects, were "rescued" from an aborted tomb robbery elsewhere, and only later inserted into Osorkon's tomb, since the child was Osorkon's son. We argue momentarily that access to Osorkon's tomb was kept open for years after having been "exposed" during the construction of the tomb of Psusesses II.

[5]'The best that Kitchen can do is differentiate between the high priests at Tanis and those of the Theban temple. He argues that the Tanite high priesthood was more of a ceremonial position, not requiring the title bearer to perform any clerical function. We leave the matter at that.

[6]The most remarkable according to Montet was a lapiz lazuli statuette inscribed by the "king's son of Ramses, Pashedbast", believed by him to be a son of Osorkon I (see Montet's *Osorkon*, p. 66). Others have argued that he was another son of Osorkon II. We have alluded to this person previously, when we expressed our belief that the title "king's son of Ramses" indicates descent from the Ramesside kings, and if so then the statuette is not out of context. Harnakht, in the late 8th century, would be a contemporary of the king's Ramses V-VIII. Pashedbast could well be a son of Ramses III.

historians explain the presence of a 140 year old artifact in the tomb of an infant belonging to another dynasty? This fragile statuette was not a toy and would have had no historical significance to a child barely reaching puberty. Whence did it come to lie in Harnakht's tomb. To simply reason, as some do, that it must have been a present given to an ancestor of Harnakht and passed down as an heirloom, is to avoid the question. Why would Osorkon have placed the statuette in the (original) tomb of his infant son, as if it had some meaning for the child? And how did this delicate object survive the 140 year interval?

We see no possible viable explanation forthcoming from the traditional history. There are, however, several possible explanations available in the revised history, where Amenemopet followed, rather than preceded, Harnakht to the grave. In the first place, as suggested already, the proximity of the tombs of Amenemopet and Psusennes in the vicinity of the Amun temple, and the fact that the body of Amenemopet was later inserted into Psusennes' tomb, suggest that Amenemopet and Psusennes were near relatives and near contemporaries. We believe that Amenemopet was a 21st Tanite dynasty successor of Psusennes, and thus only three or four generations removed from the time of Osorkon II. We know that the tomb of Osorkon was only lightly sealed, kept open for the burial of subsequent generations. It certainly remained only lightly sealed through the end of the reign of Takeloth II, since it contained his body. But the evidence suggests it was accessible for much longer.

We know that one wall of Osorkon's tomb had been breached, probably by accident, during the construction of Psusennes' tomb, whether in 646 B.C. (assuming a reign of 14 years, following Africanus) or in 625 B.C. (assuming a reign of 35 years, following Eusebius). In fact, the breach may have taken place much later, as Psusennes' tomb was enlarged afterwards to hold the bodies of the cleric's extended family. We suggested earlier that some of the robbery which took place in Osorkon's tomb might be attributed to those who were digging that particular section of Psusennes' tomb. We also know that Psusennes tomb (and thus indirectly the tomb of Osorkon II) remained accessible through the reign of Amenemopet into the reign of Siamon (since it contained Amenemopet's body and an artifact naming Siamon). It follows that Amenemopet would have had ample opportunity to view the remains of all occupants of both tombs, including the youthful Harnakht, leaving a memento of his visit. It is even possible that the body of Harnakht, and the associated valuable grave goods, were brought into Osorkon's

tomb from his violated tomb elsewhere, during the reign of Amenemopit and by that priest/king himself. The question might fairly be asked why a 21st dynasty successor of Psusennes II would so honor a child of a 22nd dynasty king. The answer probably lies in the fact that Harnakht was identified as a "high priest of Amun." and was thus, like Amenemopet himself, in the line of clerics of the Amun temple in Tanis.

These comments serve to argue the probability that Amenemopet was a descendant of Aakheperre Psusennes II, but they fail to inform us whether or not he followed that king directly. If he did, then there remains the possibility that the year 49 bandage fragment we discussed earlier belongs to him. If so, and if his reign ended in 581 B.C. as argued earlier, then it began at minimum 49 years earlier, around the year 630. We would therefore have to change the year of Psusennes' death from 625 to 630 B.C., or even slightly earlier. Thus the rationale for this extensive discussion.[7]

Having argued that Amenemopet may have begun his reign immediately following that of Psusennes we now argue otherwise. In our figure 27 we have assumed that the reign of this king began in 599 B.C., the 40th year of Menkheperre. We have only one rationale for chosing this date. There exists a single inscription which proves that Amenemopet was alive and well in the 40th year of Menkheperre. Breasted records the inscription:

> Year 40, third month of the third season, day of inspection of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, the house of Amen[em]opet (Luxor), the house of Mut, the house of Khonsu, the house of Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall-in-Thebes," the house of Montu, lord of thebes, and the house of Mat; by the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Menkheperre, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon, … BAR IV 660

Apparently Amenemopet had a residence, or a small temple, in the vicinity of Thebes, which was visited by Menkheperre in his 40th year (599 B.C.). This graffiti does not prove that Amenemopet began his reign that year, though that fact might explain this tour of inspection by Piankhi.

There is at least one other consideration that argues in favor of our date for the beginning of Amenemopet's reign. In the following pages we will argue that

[7]We admit that we find no reference to a king Amenemopet on the great Piankhi stela, inscribed in the year 617 B.C. But this does not necessarily mean his reign had not begun. There were many unnamed delta dynasts who paid homage to Piankhi at the conclusion of Tefnakht's rebellion. The stela inscriptions omits any mention of Tanis or its ruler.

Pinudjem II began acting as HPA from around the year 594 B.C. and that this high priesthood lasted untill the death of Piankhi in 584 B.C., after which he added a kingship to his credentials and ruled in Thebes until his death in 572 B.C., the 10th year of Siamun (see figure 23). Prior to Pinudjem becoming HPA, the eldest son of Menkheperre, named Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II in the textbooks), functioned in that capacity. As we have already stated, there is considerable evidence of an overlap between the high priesthood of Pinudjem II and the reign of Amenemopet. But there is very little evidence of an overlap between the terms in office of Amenemopet and Smendes II. Kitchen is able to cite only a single example, noting the presence of the names of "Amenemope on braces, and Smendes II on pendants, from mummy No. 135, 'second find', Deir el Bahri." (TIP 388 X) This suggests, though admittedly it does not prove, that the reign of Amenemopet began only shortly before the death of Smendes II and the beginning of the reign of Pinudjem II. Choosing the date 599 B.C. for Amenemopet's first year leaves a five year overlap with the high priesthood of Smendes II, sufficient for the burial of that single mummy.

At present this is the best that we can do. We assume for the moment that the dates of Amenemopit were 599-581 B.C.

The stage is now set to assign dates to Smendes II, Pinudjem II, and Psusennes III, working in reverse order.

Psusennes III

This high-priest/king is known only from multiple bandage inscriptions on mummies from the second find at Deir el-Bahri. Only two are dated, one in year 4 or 5 and the other in year 12.[8] As usual on these bandage epigraphs, it is unclear to whom the year dates belong. Both read simply: "Bandage made by the high

[8]The first is found on mummy no. 17, the second on mummy no. 65 (Gauthier, Livre des Rois III I&II). Gauthier assigns both dates to Psusennes II, as do most Egyptologists (others chose Siamon and still others assume this high priest should not be distinguished from the high priest/king Psusennes II), based largely on the belief that the Theban and Tanite dynasties ran simultaneously and that Psusennes II should be living parallel with Psusennes III. Since we believe Psusennes III also became a king, there may be documents belonging to him that have mistakenly been assigned to his namesake Psusennes II (Montet's Psusennes I) of the Tanite dynasty. If so they must bear year dates numbered 1-7, since the reign of Psusennes III lasted only that long (see below). Kitchen assigns the year 5 bandage to the reign of Siamon and the year 12 bandage to the reign of Psusennes II, entirely without evidence. This assumes that Siamon is Psinaches who must therefore be followed in office by Psusennes II. Assigning the two dates in this manner makes it necessary for Kitchen to assign to Psusennes III a pontificate lasting through years 5-19 of Siamon (note he assumes Siamon reigned 19 years) and years 1-12 of Psusennes, a time span of 26 years. No wonder Egyptologists have trouble with the chronology of this period

priest of Amun Psusennes, son of Pinudjem, for his father/lord Amun, year (5 or 12)". Seven other mummies have essentially identical inscriptions, omitting only the year date. We assume, consistent with our belief that the year dates belong to Theban kings (unless a Tanite king is specifically named), either that these datelines both belong to the kingship of Pinudjem II or that the year 12 bandage belongs to the kingship of Pinudjem II while the other refers to the kingship of Psusennes III, which followed immediately the death of his father.[9] It matters little which of these situations holds.

The dates of Psusennes follow directly from our earlier discussion. Since he succeeded his father his reign began in the 10th year of the northern king Siamun, the year when Pinudjem II was buried. That would be 572 B.C. on the assumption that Siamun's reign began in 581 B.C. Psusennes must have died[10] when the Babylonian army ravaged the delta in 565 B.C. His dates accordingly are 572-565 B.C

Pinudjem II

We begin our discussion of Pinudjem II, son of Menkheperre, with two clear dates in mind. Our discussion thus far has determined that this cleric functioned as both high priest and king. A priori we would argue that his kingship must have followed immediately the death of his father. That same date (584 B.C.) would mark the end of a period of time in which he served as high priest during the kingship of Menkheperre. Thus his kingship must date from 584-572 B.C. and his sojourn solely as high priest from some undetermined date through to 584 B.C. In our figure 27 timeline we assume a date around 594 for the beginning of his high priesthood. The following paragraphs provide support for these dates. The reader should keep in mind the one operative dating principle which guides our deliberations. We have previously argued the case that these clerics only dated the years of their kingships. The years of their high priesthoods, while they assisted during the reigns of their

[9]As we will soon see, the high-priesthood/kingship of Psusennes III lasted only 7 years. No doubt the critics will claim that Psusennes III did not claim to be king and therefore cannot be assigned regnal years. But that is an argument from silence. None of the dockets and bandages from Deir el Bahri, save one, specifically state that Pinudjem II was a king, yet we also argue that he was one, and that he assumed the prenomen Kheperkhare. For years Kitchen also argued that Menkheperre never claimed the kingship, relenting only in his most recent revisions of his book. Yet we have discovered that Menkheperre was one of the greatest warrior kings who ever reigned in Egypt. We should also point out the reverse situation, that none of the Deir el Bahri inscriptions of Amenemopet or Siamun ever claim that these *kings* functioned as *HPA*, yet other documents attest that they were. These epigraphs were highly condensed documents, employing an economy of words and stock phrases. We should not read too much into what they "do not say".

[10]Nothing changes if he was taken captive or driven from the country. His reign effectively ended in 565 B.C.

fathers, always cited the years of their royal parent. This enables us to determine which documents belong to which phase of their term in office.

Pinudjem II is clearly named on a bandage inscription belonging to mummy No. 124 from the "second find", that which bears the damaged year date "[x} + 3". (TIP388 XI #53) The "x" in this case is most likely another "3" since the dateline numbers are often inscribed so as to preserve symmetry. Besides, another linen bandage from that same mummy, with essentially the same inscription, has the year date 10. According to our dating theory both these dates belong to the kingship of our Pinudjem II.[11] Besides these two bandages, Kitchen lists more than twenty other dockets and linen inscriptions naming Pinudjem II and bearing year dates from one to ten.[12] Then they stop. This is precisely what we expect if the kingship of Pinudjem ran from 584 to 572 B.C. He died in his 13th year as king.

To these two dozen documents from the reign of king Pinudjem we must add the many inscriptions which mention the name of a king Kheperkhare Pinudjem, and in consequence have been listed in the reference books under documents from the

[11]We mention these two bandage epigraphs specifically because the first of them does contain one anomaly that needs to be mentioned. The inscription actually begins with the name Amenemopet – "King Amenemopet. Linen made by the high priest of Amun Pinudjem, son of Menkheperre, for his father Amun, year x + 3." We are hard pressed to explain the presence of the name of Amenemopet 6 years into the "kingship" of Pinudjem, since according to our timeline Amenemopet died 2 years after Pinudjem became king. Without actually viewing the location of the name on the bandage it is difficult to comment. These bandages seem to have been kept in storage sometimes for upwards of ten years. Perhaps the inscription in Pinudjem's 6th regnal year was added to a bandage endorsed with Amenemopet's name while he was still alive. There does remain the possibility that the year x + 3 refers to the year 53 and therefore that this date refers to the reign of Menkheperre. That would solve the problem of the inclusion of Amenemopet's name, since he was the northern king at that time. In this case we would have to assume the bandage was left unused until the 10th year of Pinudjem's kingship, about 12 years later. We should point out in passing, for the sake of those who might be bothered by our earlier argument that mummy bandages made and inscribed in Menkheperre's 48th year (see page 306 and note 212 above) were not actually used until his death six years later, or generally, that bandages were kept for upwards of ten years, that the mummy of Pinudjem II contained bandages made by himself in his regnal years 7 and 9[11], the first of these being five years prior to his death.

[12]Besides the two linen bandages from mummy 124 already cited, Kitchen lists 23 inscriptions, mostly on dockets and bandages from Deir el Bahri, all bearing year dates ranging from 1-10. (TIP 389 #57-79). Other than the two bandages #73 & 74, nothing in any of these inscriptions precludes our referencing the dates to the regnal years of Pinudjem II. Most provide his name. The two exceptions are interesting, but hardly contradict our basic thesis. These two specifically reference the year date (year 8) to the reign of Siamun in the north, a date corresponding to Pinudjem's 6th year as king. The one complete inscription reads "Linen made by the high priest of Amun Pinudjem, son of Menkheperre, for his mistress Mut, year 7 of Siamun" (BAR IV 663) The second inscription probably read identically, but only the portion beginning with the name of Mut remains, and the second inscription reads "year 8". In spite of Breasted's translation naming year 7 on the first, both Kitchen and Gauthier read "year 8" on both bandages. Something unusual must have contributed to use of Siamun's datelines on these two bandages. We note the rare occurrence of the name of Mut, rather than Amun, suggesting that the deceased was a woman. Perhaps she was related to Siamon. The situation is interesting, but otherwise quite irrelevant.

reign of Pinudjem I.[13] These include only a single dated inscription from the Deir el Bahri finds, the year 8 bandage[14] mentioned previously by Eric Young (see above page 254 & 257) and discussed in that earlier context. We argued at the time that in the traditional history this year date for Pinudjem I is clearly an anomaly.

So much for the documents attesting the kingship of Pinudjem II. What about his high priesthood which preceded the death of Menkheperre in 584 B.C. That year marks the dividing line between two distinct groups of documents of Pinudjem II. In the north Amenemopet died in 581 B.C., just three years later than Menkheperre. Thus Pinudjem's sojourn as "HPA only" overlapped Amenemopet's reign. Most of the documents which name both Pinudjem and Amenemopet must belong to this phase of Pinudjem's life in office. Earlier, in our discussion of Amenemopet's reign, we mentioned that he and Pinudjem II are named in "various combinations on braces, pendants and (undated) linen from nine mummies" of the second find at Deir el Bahri.[15] and on none of the inscriptions dated in the years 1-10, suggesting that they form a separate group from a distinct period of time. We place them all in the years preceding the death of Menkheperre. We expect that any dated documents from this era will incorporate the high numbered year dates of Menkheperre.

The reader will notice that we have thus far provided no firm dates for the beginning of the high-priesthood of Pinudjem II, stating only that he was in office at least by 48th year of Menkheperre (591 B.C.), and was a contemporary of Amenemopet in the north. Menkheperre died seven years later, in 584 B.C. Pinudjem must have functioned as high priest under Piankhi for at least those seven years. The fact that we move the beginning of his high priesthood back another five years to 596 B.C. is almost pure guesswork, though we did not choose the date entirely at random. In chapter 5 of the present book we learned that Piankhi abandoned his campaigning in Syria by his 42rd year (597 B.C.) and likely retired to Nubia soon after. We wonder at the timing of this event and suggest as one factor the possibility that his firstborn son Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II), who at the time functioned as HPA in his stead, had just died (or been killed in the Syrian conflict). This might have been a catalyst in his decision to cease his warfare. At the time he

[13]Cf. M. Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Egypte III*, pp. 243-252 There are listed here over twenty inscriptions bearing this name. Nearly all are undated, and in no instance is the year date higher than the 12 years we have assigned to the kingship of Pinudjem II.

[14]TIP 386 VII #40.

[15]See Kitchen TIP 388 XI #50 for a list and for references.

was perhaps as old as 70.

If we are correct in our dating, the combined high-priesthood/kingship of Pinudjem lasted 24 years, from 596 B.C. through 572 B.C. But we admit it might have lasted much longer.[16] We just don't know.

Smendes II

Pinudjem was apparently not the eldest son of Menkheperre. That honor fell to Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II), who was high-priest before Pinudjem. Since no documents of this high priest provide a year date we must fix his place in history on some other basis. There exist only a handful of inscriptions containing the name of this Nesubanebdjed, only two of which have any bearing on the years we assign to him.

Mummy No. 135 from the "second find" contains the name Amenemope on braces and Smendes II as high priest on pendants, confirming that this high priest was a contemporary of Amenemope. We mentioned this mummy earlier in our discussion of the dates for Amenemope. According to our chronology Smendes II must therefore precede Pinudjem II in time, and is probably the eldest son of Menkheperre. This conclusion was reached a century ago by Daressy, who first published the inscriptions from the Deir el Bahri mummies, and it was accepted by the scholarly community long before Montet discovered a second inscription which, interpreted in one particular way, served to confirm that fact.

When Montet excavated the tomb of Aakheperre Psusennes (Psusennes I in the traditional history, Psusennes II in the revised alternative) he found on the body of Psusennes a pair of bracelets which contained inscriptions naming a "high priest of Amon Nesbanebdjed son of Menkheperre", a title consistent with the Deir el Bahri finds. But the inscriptions created problems for traditional historians, not the least of which was explaining how Psusennes I could be a contemporary of Pinudjem I while Pinudjem's grandson Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre, was also HPA during that same reign, a situation particularly difficult to explain for those who assign to Menkheperre upwards of 50 years in office. Summarizing the reaction of scholars to the problem would be interesting, but not germane. We need say only

[16]The earlier we date the beginning of the high priesthood of Pinudjem, the earlier we must date the beginning of the reign of the northern king Amenemopet, since at least on one mummy Smendes II, Pinudjem's predecessor as HPA, is associated with Amenemopet.

that the difficulty was sufficiently serious to prompt at least one scholar, Eric Young, to suggest that the HPA Nesbanebdjed son of Menkheperre named on the bracelets should not be identified with the HPA Nesubanebdjed son of Menkheperre who was a contemporary of Amenemopet.[17] After all, the bracelet inscription omits any title for Menkheperre. Young's theory has not been widely accepted.

We might leave the matter there, pending further evidence. After all, the revised history has no major problem with the bracelet inscriptions, and in our figure 27 we have assumed that Smendes II actually began to assist his father Menkheperre as early as 630 B.C., allowing time for him to make and inscribe the bracelets and gift them to Psusennes. The dates for Smendes are listed accordingly as 630-596 B.C., what we call our “long pontificate of Smendes II.” But for others reasons we continue the discussion. One reason stands out from the others. We do not believe the bracelets in question could possibly have been a gift from our Smendes II.

We do wonder if the Egyptologist Eric Young has been too quickly dismissed by scholars. The bracelet inscriptions contain more than simply the name and title of "Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre". They contain, in parallel bands, the name of the HPA/king Psusennes himself, and the phrase “made by (*ir.n*) the HPA Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre. The complete inscription, as translated by Montet, reads instead "Psusennes, *born of* the high priest Nesbanebdjed, son of Menkhepperre"[18] Montet was clearly influenced in his translation by the fact that Manetho lists Psusennes I as a son of a king Smendes I, considered by the traditional history to be a king named Nesubanebdjed. Thus his unusual translation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs “*ir.n*” and his identification of the Nesubanebdjed on the bracelets.

In spite the fact that Montet’s translation and identification lend support to the traditional history both are generally rejected by Egyptologists. On the one hand the hieroglyphs (ir.n) are almost always translated "made by", especially in inscriptions on artifacts. On the other, that community of scholars has come to believe that Manetho was wrong in his ordering of the kings, and now believe that Manetho’s second and third kings should be listed in reverse order. Psusennes was the son of Neferkare Amenemnise, not Smendes I (Nesubanebdjed). Thus they

[17]Eric Young, "Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty," JARCE 2 (1963) 104-108.
[18]Pierre Montet, *Les Constructions et Le Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pp 155. Montet translates: “Le Roi Premier prophete D’Amon Psousennes-Miamoun, né du premier prophete d’Amon Nesbanibded, fils de Menkheperre.”

struggle to identify the Nesubanebdjed son of Menkheperre on the bracelets with the Smendes II. We respectfully disagree. This identification makes no sense.

The scholars correctly reject Montet's translation of "ir.n". But assuming that the bracelets were "made by" the HPA Nesbanebdjed specifically for Psusennes all but precludes Smendes II from consideration. On the one hand it makes no sense that a very young high priest would give such a gift, inscribed with his own name, to an elderly king from a separate branch of the 21st dynasty living hundred of miles to the north. A gift from king Menkheperre might be expected, but a gift from his teenage son seems out of the question.[19] And what occasion would have prompted such a gift? We would expect such personalized items to be forthcoming from a family member on some special occasion, not from a virtual stranger to an elderly statesman nearing death.

In our opinion the Nesubanebdjed named on the bracelets must be an intimate family member, probably Psusennes' father. And the gift was likely made upwards of thirty years before Psusennes died, possibly on the occasion of his becoming high priest of Amun, or even as a coronation gift. They needn't have been actually made by Nesubanebdjed, in spite of the wording on the inscription. Their construction may have been ordered by him in advance of his death, in anticipation of his son's replacing him. This is not to say that we agree with the traditional history that Manetho's Psusennes I was preceded by a king named Nesubanebdjed. The revised history has already identified the predecessor of Montet's Aakheperre Psebkhannu (our Psusennes II) as a king named Nesubanebdjed, who ruled in Tanis during the time of Wenamun (see above pp. 230-31). We have argued that he must be identified as the king called Psinaches by Manetho. If the father of Psinaches was named Menkheperre, we must assume a break in the family line after Osochor, the predecessor of Psinaches according to Manetho.

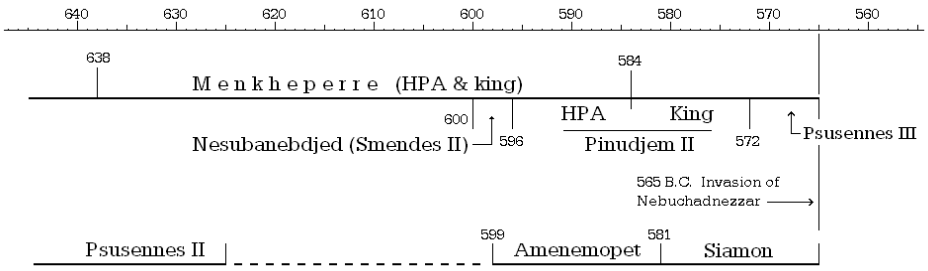
Returning to Smendes II, we can now proceed to assign dates to the beginning of his reign. If the bracelets in the tomb of Psusennes II were made by our Smendes II (Nesubanebdjed II, son of Menkheperre) then this HPA must have served under

[19]We assume the gift was not a funeral gift, which would be even more difficult to explain. If sent around 630, as we have hypothesized, Smendes II cannot have been more than eighteen years old at the time. Menkheperre began his rule in 638. He was likely at most around 25 years of age at the time, a fact we have argued in both of our books, since he reigned for 54 years, and was likely around 80 when he died. Assuming Nesubanebdjed was born when Piankhi was 15, he would be only 18 years old in 630 B.C. If the gift were sent earlier, he would, of course, be even younger. This difficulty is even more acute in the traditional history.

his father beginning at the latest around 630 B.C. This is unlikely[20], but still within the realm of possibility. In this scenario, assuming Nesubanebdjed made the bracelets years before Psusennes died, the dates for Smendes II would be c.a. 630-598 B.C. We do wonder at the virtually absence of inscriptional evidence attesting his high priesthood if he served Piankhi for so long. But then Piankhi was militarily active for much of this time and Nesubanebdjed, in addition to serving as high priest, may have served as a commander in the Egyptian army. His priestly duties would have been minimal.

On the other hand, if the bracelets were made by the father of our Psusennes II, named Psinaches by Manetho (Nesubanebdjed I, son of Menkheperre), then the only dateable inscription of our Smendes II, is the one on the pendants from mummy #135 in the early years of king Amenemopet. In this scenario we need only assign a few years to the high priesthood of Smendes II, say 600-596 B.C. In our figure 28 below we replace our earlier timeline representing the "long pontificate of Smendes II" (figure27) with the more reasonable, "short pontificate".

Figure 28: Terminal "21st Theban" priest/kings
and their Tanite counterparts (duplicate of figure 20).
Short pontificate for Smendes II.



Enough said.

[20]We have two objections to this hypothetical situation. In the first place we are at a loss to explain why a HPA from the south would give such a gift to the HPA from the north, other than perhaps at Psusennes coronation. But any date before 638 B.C., the first year of Menkheperre, is clearly out of the question. And after this date Psusennes is already 23 years into his reign. He is arguably an elderly man. Why would a youth from another dynasty favor him with such a personal gift? Our second objection relates to the age of Piankhi. The bracelets made by Nesubanebdjed for Psusennes II are not a funerary gift. They must have been made for king Psusennes during his lifetime, and probably long before his death. If they were made by our Smendes II, then Smendes must have served his father Piankhi as HPA many years before 625 B.C. In our timeline we have assumed his high priesthood began around 630 B.C., but even this date seems late. This means Nesubanebdjed must have been born *at the latest* around 650 B.C., and Piankhi *at the latest* about twenty years earlier (c.a. 670 B.C.). In turn, this implies that Piankhi was militarily active well into his 70s and died around the age of 87. While possible, these numbers are larger than expected.

Appendix D: God's Wives of Amun

Mutemhet Maatkare

Pinudjem I not only had two sons who became high priest, he also had a daughter who became a high priestess, a so-called "god's wife" or "divine votaress" of the god Amun. He named her Maatkare after the famous 18th dynasty queen Maatkare Hatshetsup, who also self styled herself as a god's wife, this being yet another instance of the borrowing of 18th dynasty names by 25th dynasty royalty. A portrait of the second Maatkare is contained in the well known graffiti inscription on the wall of the Luxor temple, in which Pinudjem is shown followed by three of his daughters: Maatkare, still a young girl, and her elder sisters Henttawi, and Nedjemmut.[1] We mention her name and titles not only as confirmation of the common practice of name borrowing in the 21st dynasty, but in order to develop several themes related to our revision.

In the first place Maatkare's place in history ought to make us doubly cautious in interpreting the monuments. In at least one interpretive stream of 18th dynasty history Menkheperre Thutmose III and Maatkare (Hatshetsup) are considered to be son and daughter respectively of Thutmose 1, precisely the relationship that exists in the 25th Theban dynasty where Menkheperre Thutmose, alias Piankhi, and Mutemhet Maatkare and are offspring of Pinudjem I, who adopted the names of Thutmose I. It remains to be seen how much confusion has been introduced into 18th dynasty history by this duplication of names. We are mindful of the debate that existed throughout the 20th century concerning the succession of kings in the 18th dynasty, the so-called Thutmosid Succession problem. Without going into details of the correctionist theory of the Egyptologist Sethe, supported by no less an authority than Breasted, we wonder to what extent, if any, the 25th dynasty namesake kings and queens actually altered the 18th dynasty monuments to suit their purposes, giving rise to the bizarre genealogical theories of the two famous scholars. The first lesson related to Mutemhet Maatkare is that caution ought to be the order of the day in any future reading of the monuments.

We also need to comment on the rather strange circumstance that exists in the traditional history wherein a solitary 21st dynasty princess adopted the office and

[1]Maatkare was considered to be Pinudjem's wife by early 20th century scholars, but the inscription clearly identifies all three as being "king's daughters". Cf. Kitchen TIP 48 A.

title of divine votaress fully three hundred years before the institution emerged in its developed form in the time of Osorkon III (a four hundred year gap in the revised history). To our knowledge no other princess of the 21st dynasty inherited that office. Certainly the title is otherwise unattested. Maatkare, as god's wife, is literally hundreds of years out of place, an anomaly or anachronism that ought to have caused historians to question the time line that assigned her to the eleventh century. In the revised history she is appropriately positioned in the mid to late 7th century, only decades after Osorkon (re-)instituted the tradition by appointing his daughter Shepenwepet to the office. There remains the question where Maatkare fits into the sequence of god's wives of the 7th century B.C.

Our third observation is related to the last question and introduces us to the vexed problem concerning the identity of the king named Kashta, who according to some scholars was the father of Piankhi and whose daughter Amenirdis, according to one interpretive tradition, was installed in office by Piankhi as the adoptive daughter of Shenenwepet I, and later became the god's wife in her stead. A detailed examination of the problem is beyond the scope of this discussion. Sufficient here to outline its details and suggest a likely solution.

The problem referred to is simply stated. Who is Kashta and how do he and his daughter Amenirdis relate to Pinudjem and his daughter Maatkare, since in both cases we have individuals who are said to be the father of Piankhi and also the father of a divine adoratrix. The simplest solution to the problem is simply to argue that Kashta is an epithet, perhaps a title, of Pinudjem, used by this king in various contexts, and that Maatkare as divine votarix assumed the name Amenirdis as her adoptive name. But there are problems squaring this suggestion with the monuments which describe Kashta and his daughter. Thus we suggest an alternative explanation.

In the first place there is absolutely no evidence that Kashta was the father of Piankhi. In fact, the only monument that explicitly connects the two personages identifies Kashta as Piankhi's father-in-law. According to Kenneth Kitchen:

> Piankhy's predecessor was Kashta. Their sequence by generation (and so, also, by succession) is indicated by some doorjambs which were found at Abydos from a tomb or chapel of the princess Peksater; she is named as daughter of Kashta and Pebatma, and royal wife of Piankhy. TIP 120

Kitchen may be correct in suggesting that Kashta preceded Piankhi on the throne, but if so it was on the Nubian throne, not the throne of Egypt. We have already

proposed a scenario in which Piankhi, sometime during his first twenty years in office, inherited the kingship in Napata, succeeding the line of kings that ruled the extreme south between the 3rd and 4th cataracts, a lineage which likely included Shabataka, the king of Melukkha, discussed in the first book of our series. Clearly Kashta was in that line. His tumulus is among those excavated by Reisner at El Kurru. Piankhi must have succeeded him. The Abydos inscriptions cited by Kitchen confirm our suggestion that a marriage alliance was in part the means to this end. According to those inscriptions Piankhi married Kashta's daughter Peksater; and according to the great Piankhi stele he ultimately succeeded to the Napatan kingdom. We should have no trouble accepting a cause and effect relationship between the two sets of facts.

The problem of Amenirdis and Maatkare is more complex. According to the traditional history there existed an unbroken sequence of four god's wives spanning the years between the inauguration of Shepenwepet, daughter of Osorkon III, and the adoption of Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, who "ruled" in the late 6th century. For the record we tabulate the accepted list of god's wives (see below). For the sake of the uninformed reader we should perhaps point out that the dates, other than the one assigned to Shepenwepet I, represent when the existing god's wife "adopted" her future replacement. We do not know, in the case of any of the named dignitaries, when the god's wife died.

Table 16: God's Wives of Amun According to the Traditional History.
Dates provided by the Revised History.

God's Wife:	Daughter of:	Given by	Approximate Date of Adoption:
Shepenwepet I	Osorkon III	Osorkon III	671-667 B.C.
Amenirdis I	Kashta	Kashta?	664-660 B.C.
Shepenwepet II	Piankhi	Piankhi	???
Amenirdis II	Taharka	Taharka	???
Nitocris	Psamtik I	Psamtik I	514 B.C.

Several aspects of this list are worth noting.

1. The fact that Amenirdis was adopted by Shepenwepet seven years into her "reign"is based entirely on a graffiti found in the desert region of the Wadi Gassus in which adjacent inscriptions refer to the 12th year of an adoratrix Amenirdis and the 19th year of a god's wife Shepenwepet. Whether these inscriptions are meant to be read together, whether they refer to the first or second god's wives bearing these names, and the precise meaning of the dates are all the subject of considerable debate.[2] We accept the relative dates as a possibility only because it seems likely that Shepenwepet would have adopted a "daughter" at an early date.

2. In the first book of our series we dated the "adoption" of Nitocris by Amenirdis II (apparently while Shepenwepet II was still alive) to the year 514 B.C.[3] But this creates a major problem, regardless of the precise dates when the other god's wives were adopted. A quick glance at the chart shows that the combined terms *in office* of two consecutive god's wives (Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II) must have spanned, *at minimum* (since Shepenwepet II is still alive and in office at the adoption of Nitocris), the 156 years from 660 B.C. to 514 B.C. This is clearly an impossibility. Of course the critic will argue that our analysis in the earlier book is incorrect and that we must accept a 535 B.C. date for the adoption of Nitocris. But even this would require that the two terms in office add up to 137 years, better - but still all but impossible. Clearly there is some error in the traditional schema, and the conclusion is inevitable that at least one god's wife has been omitted from the list. We should perhaps note that the difficulty is much the same in the traditional history, where all dates are consistently about 121 years higher that those provided above.

3. The table as presented assumes that Amenirdis is both the daughter of Kashta and the sister of Piankhi. But the only genealogical data given by the monuments shows only that Amenirdis was the daughter of Kashta and thus the (older) sister of Peksater, Piankhi's wife.. Several of Amenirdis' inscriptions refer to her father by name. None mention Piankhi as her brother, a relationship which assumes that Piankhi was also Kashta's son and had married his sister Peksater. That suggested genealogy, supported by many Egyptologists, is absolutely without warrant. It is certain that Piankhi did not give Amenirdis to Shepenwepet as the later's adoptive

[2]See the extensive discussion by Kitchen TIP 344

[3]See *Nubuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, chapter 5 for the date. We assume that some unusual circumstance necessitated this adoption of two "daughters" by a single "god's wife." Certainly the existing "god's daughter Amenirdis II was old, probably in her seventies since she was likely given up for adoption at the latest around 566 B.C. [a year before the invasion] and may have been in her twenties at the time). She may also have been ill. Alternatively the problem may have been the age and/or health of Shepenwepet II.

daughter, as some suggest. Again there is no documentary support, and the chronology makes that event impossible. We maintain instead that Amenirdis was given to Shepenwepet by Kashta, who was probably related by marriage to Osorkon III. The range of dates when this event likely took place (664-660 B.C.) suggests that the Nubian viceroy Piankh might have had a hand in the matter. How else do we explain how Kashta had such influence in the Theban area other than by assuming some family relationship between him and the Nubian viceroy Piankh. Perhaps they are brothers.

4. The timeline clearly rules out the possibility that Mutemhet Maatkare and Amenirdis I are the same person. Besides, at least one inscription suggests that the prenomen of Amenirdis was Khaneferumut[4], clearly distinguishing her from Mutemhet.

5. The Nitocris stela, which we examined in brief in the earlier book, does state that Piankhi had a sister who was a god's wife.[5] But it does not name his sister. In the sequence of god's wives this sister must immediately precede Shepenwepet II. Scholars simply assume it was Amenirdis, but convincing evidence is lacking.[6]. Since we know that Piankhi had a sister named Maatkare who was a god's wife, she must be the unnamed god's wife in the Nitocris stela. And she must have been placed on the throne by Pinudjem, since she already bears the title god's wife in the processional pictured on the mural from the Abydos temple.

6. The god's wife Amenirdis lived into the reign of Shabaka as attested by a document dated in that king's 12th year.[7] She seems also to have been alive in the days of Shabataka. Since we have argued that the reign of Shabaka overlapped that of Piankhi, and that Piankhi died in 584 B.C., at least a year into the reign of Shabataka, this creates no chronological problem for the revised history.

Collectively the evidence suggests that the list of god's wives should be emended as in table 17 following.

[4]See Kitchen TIP 321
[5]BAR IV 942
[6]For sources see BAR IV 942 note e.
[7]See Kitchen TIP 344

Table 17: God's Wives of Amun - Revised History

God's Wife:	Daughter of:	Given by	Approximate Date of Adoption:
Shepenwepet I	Osorkon III	Osorkon III	671-667 B.C.
Amenirdis I	Kashta	Kashta	664-660 B.C.
Maatkare	Pinudjem I	Pinudjem	c.a. 640 B.C.
Shepenwepet II	Piankhi	Piankhi	c.a. 584 B.C.
Amenirdis II	Taharka	Taharka	c.a. 566 B.C.
Nitocris	Psamtik I	Psamtik I	514 B.C.

Far from being a problem for the revised history, the god's wife Mutemhet Maatkare makes sense out of an otherwise confused sequence of god's wives and lends support to our suggestion that Kashta was the Napatan king contemporary with Piankh and Pinudjem, into whose family Menkheperre married prior to the beginning of the Tefnakht rebellion.

We conclude our discussion by outlining below a hypothetical genealogy representing this revised list of God's Wives of Amun and incorporating some of the data outlined in this chapter. Please note that we have assumed in this instance, following Kenneth Kitchen, that Shabaka is a son of Kashta and Pebatma, and that Shabataka and Taharka are sons of Piankhi. We do not necessarily agree with those conclusions, but they are one set of options worth considering. The reader can easily restore the genealogy on figure 18 on page 237 by making Shabaka a son of Rudamon, and Shabataka and Taharka sons of Shabaka. Nothing else in the figure would necessarily change.

Figure 29: Genealogy for the God's Wives of Amun. Third Possibility for the Genealogy of Piankh.